











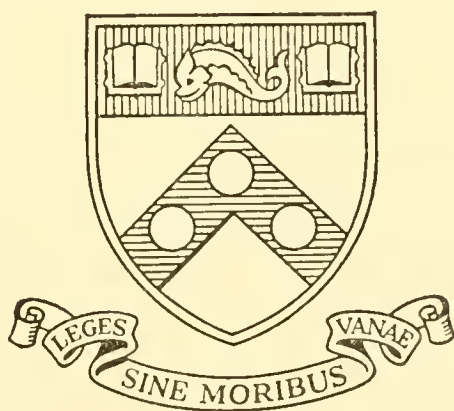




# THE LIBRARY CHRONICLE

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UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA  
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VOLUME XXXVIII · 1972

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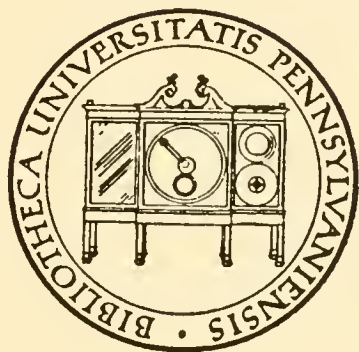
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1972





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An index to Supplement A of the Catalogue of Manuscripts (*The Library Chronicle*, vol. xxxv – vol. xxxvii) will appear in the next issue (vol. xxxviii, no. 2).

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# Theodore Dreiser Centenary

*A. S. W. Rosenbach  
Fellowship  
Lectures in Bibliography*

DONALD PIZER

*Dreiser's Novels: The Editorial Problem*

ROBERT H. ELIAS

*Dreiser: Bibliography and the Biographer*

The Library Chronicle  
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA  
PHILADELPHIA

1971

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Executed this twentieth  
day of August 1900

Theodore Dreiser

Witness:

Frank Morris

Doubleday Page Company

## Introduction

THE Theodore Dreiser centenary was the occasion for the A. S. W. Rosenbach Lectures in Bibliography in November 1971. These lectures, established in 1929 by the late Dr. Rosenbach, have brought to the University recognized experts in the field of bibliography since the first lectures in 1931 by Christopher Morley.

There were many celebrations of the Dreiser centennial year throughout the world, and it seemed appropriate that the University, with the definitive Dreiser collection, should recognize the event with the distinguished Rosenbach Lectures. Scholars from all over the world have used the Dreiser collection for their research and publications; two of them, established Dreiserians, were invited to be Rosenbach Fellows for this occasion.

Dr. Donald Pizer, Professor of English, Newcomb College, Tulane University, devoted his lecture to the editorial problems arising out of the existence of many prepublication drafts of Dreiser's novels. Currently working on a full-length critical study of Dreiser's novels, Dr. Pizer has published books on Frank Norris, Hamlin Garland, and American realism and naturalism, as well as a critical edition of *Sister Carrie* (W. W. Norton, 1970) and a checklist of Dreiser publications in *Proof 1* (University of South Carolina Press, 1971).

Dr. Robert H. Elias, Goldwin Smith Professor of English Literature and American Studies at Cornell University, delivered the second Rosenbach lecture of the day on the dilemma of the biographer confronted with the perplexities of Dreiser's manuscripts. Dr. Elias' publications have included *Theodore Dreiser, Apostle of Nature* (Knopf, 1949) and an emended edition of that biography (Cornell University Press, 1970); he also edited the three-volume *Letters of Theodore Dreiser, A Selection* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959). His "*Entangling Alliances with None*": an Essay on the Individual in the American Twenties is to be published by Norton in 1973.

The Rosenbach Lectures were delivered in the Rosenwald Gallery, Charles Patterson Van Pelt Library at the University, where there was an exhibition of manuscripts and books from the Dreiser collection. A published catalogue of the exhibition is available from the Rare Book Collection.

NEDA M. WESTLAKE

Rare Book Collection



## Chapter I

The ~~unfortunate~~ morning in the  
fall of 1880 a well-to-do  
family, accompanied by  
a young girl of considerable  
presented ~~themselves~~ at the double  
door of the principal hotel in Cincinnati,  
Ohio, the "city of towers" -  
thousand and made inquiry  
as to whether there was anything  
about the place which she could not

Jennie Gerhardt, first page of the manuscript.



# Dreiser's Novels: The Editorial Problem

DONALD PIZER

A LARGE, ungainly man who wrote long, ungainly novels, Dreiser was a frequent and an apt subject for the caricaturist. A typical sketch would find him seated at his desk surrounded by reams of untidy manuscript while he himself continued to scratch away furiously at yet another massive account of the drainage system of southwest Rochester or the amatory technique of the Carpathian tiger. Caricatures of this kind, whether drawn in prose or in pen and ink, contained more than an element of truth. Dreiser's method of composition was to write a first draft by hand at great speed. He then revised his holograph, often discarding or adding large blocks of material. After a typescript was prepared for him,<sup>1</sup> he again revised extensively, now frequently depending on the advice of friends and editors as well as on his own second thoughts. Revision at this stage was so elaborate that often one or more fair-copy typescripts would be required. A final stage was the correction and revision of galley proof. This method of composition is perhaps not unusual for a modern novelist. What is distinctive in Dreiser's case, however, is that his novels are exceptionally long and that he saved almost all his pre-publication material. The availability of this material, for the most part in the University of Pennsylvania Dreiser Collection,<sup>2</sup> is a challenge to the prospective editor of Dreiser's fiction. Can an editor who relies on traditional editorial techniques make profitable use of this material or must he devise a new editorial strategy? Of course, the form in which a question is stated will frequently anticipate its answer. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that I wish in this paper to discuss in detail my belief that conventional editorial methods cannot exploit this rich lode of manuscript material and that radical innovation in editorial procedure is thus required.

Of the two major kinds of modern editing, the aim of one is primarily commercial, the other scholarly. The first appears principally in the form of paperback texts intended for a college or university student audience. This kind of edition is a product of several characteristics of the academic and publishing scene of the last two decades.

Thus, the recognition that reasonably priced paperbacks make useful and attractive student texts; the development of cheap photoduplication and binding processes; and the acquisition of a modicum of bibliographical awareness by all except the most benighted publisher and academic writer of introductions—all have contributed to the so-called paperback revolution on campus. An editor of a modern novel in a paperback reading edition usually adopts the position that his job is to reproduce a particular version of the novel in question. He accepts the authenticity of the specific text he offers, most often a first-edition text, on the assumption that the author saw the text through the press and is therefore responsible for it. His principal editorial function, once he has chosen a specific text, is to read proof carefully in order to insure that the text is being faithfully copied. Some editors of paperback reading texts are more ambitious and include textual material of varying degrees of sophistication and importance in introductions, notes, and appendices. On occasion, something close to a scholarly critical edition has been achieved by a particularly conscientious editor.<sup>3</sup> But most editors of paperback reading texts have had far more modest aims.

Paperback reading editions have a useful role to play in the dissemination of Dreiser's fiction. Besides overseeing the accurate reproduction of the text he has chosen, an editor of a Dreiser novel in paperback format would no doubt wish to explain to a bibliographically unsophisticated, non-Dreiserian audience the special circumstances of that text. Certainly he would want to discuss and perhaps illustrate such matters as Dreiser's revision in 1907 of the first chapter of *Sister Carrie*; or the 1927 revision of *The Financier*, a project in which Louise Campbell played a large role; or the adventures of the text of *The Bulwark*, which, before it went to press, was revised by Mrs. Campbell and then for the most part returned to its original form by Dreiser's Doubleday editor, Donald Elder. But it would be unreasonable to expect that an editor could explain or document for such an audience and in such a format the immensely complicated and space-devouring prepublication history of a Dreiser novel.

The second major kind of modern editing derives from the theories of W. W. Greg. It aims to produce for a scholarly audience a definitive text—that is, a text which presents both the editor's belief as to what constitutes the author's final intentions and all the evidence

which the editor has relied upon to reach his conclusions. This method of editing involves, first, the choice of a copy-text—that is, a version of the text as close as possible to the author's final preparation of every aspect of the text. The ideal copy-text is an authorial fair copy holograph or typescript, since even a secretarial copy may contain errors or unsanctioned revisions not caught by the writer. In practice, however, the availability or non-availability of prepublication forms of a work will cause copy-text to vary from a holograph to such later states as secretarial typescript, periodical publication, book proof, and first edition. After selecting the best available copy-text of a particular work, the editor brings to bear upon it the heavy artillery of his specialized knowledge of the textual and bibliographical history of that work as well as any other relevant information derived from his awareness of the circumstances of the author's life and career. His intent is to distinguish between those variations from the copy-text in other texts which are attributable to the author and those which are not. The first kind of variant, if it is a final intention, is accepted as an emendation of the copy-text; the second is relegated to one of the lists in the textual apparatus of the edition. The text which is offered to the scholarly reader is thus an eclectic text. It was never written and never published. But it nevertheless represents, in the judgment of its editor, a text which the author would have wished to appear in the best of all bibliographical worlds.

A noticeable characteristic of this kind of edition is its bulky apparatus. The edition will usually contain a textual introduction of considerable length; textual notes on major cruxes; a list of all emendations in the copy-text; a historical collation of variants in all significant texts other than the copy-text, including rejected variants; and specialized lists dependent on the distinctive nature of the editorial problem. This apparatus, which comprises the matter out of which the editor has constructed his eclectic text, is presented as the factual and argumentative basis for the editor's decisions. In Fredson Bowers' well-known phrase, the availability of this material means that all the editor's cards are on the table, face up.

The two editorial methods which I have been describing, the commercial and the scholarly, appear to be very different, as indeed they are in most of their characteristics. They have in common, however, an incapacity to make extensive use of prepublication forms. This



limitation is obvious in commercial editing. The primary aim in such editing is to produce cheaply a faithful version of a particular integral text, and this aim, as I have already noted, precludes all but a minor use of manuscript and other prepublication states. Scholarly copy-text editing, however, with its stress upon the choice of an early copy-text—preferably a holograph—would seem to assure a substantial use of prepublication material. But such is not the case, as I will briefly explain.

The principles and practice of the Greg theory of copy-text editing stem primarily from the need to solve the problems encountered in the editing of Renaissance drama. The major effort in such editing is to determine the degree of authorial responsibility for the variant passages in different printed versions of a text. Very little manuscript material is available. Great bibliographical sophistication is therefore applied to determine the conditions of transmission of printed texts, with individual compositors in certain Elizabethan print shops acquiring a dramatic and idiosyncratic force worthy of a Dickensian portrayal. The success of this method in solving innumerable cruxes in Renaissance dramatic texts has implied an equal usefulness for the method in the editing of other literary forms in other periods. Thus, nineteenth-century American novelists are being edited in accordance with copy-text principles, and it has been assumed by most textual bibliographers, including Fredson Bowers, that these principles will be applicable as well to the editing of twentieth-century novelists.<sup>4</sup>

As the copy-text editor moves forward in time, however, he makes less and less use of the increasing amount of manuscript material available to him, while his concern for final intentions becomes more and more an exercise in demonstrating the obvious. For the distinctive characteristic of copy-text editing in relation to manuscript states is that the copy-text editor focuses his attention upon only one such state, that which is at once chronologically closest to the printed book and still completely sanctioned by the author. All other prepublication forms, no matter how much they might inform us of the evolution of a text, are neglected except when they clarify the odd crux or illegibility in the chosen copy-text. This neglect is inseparable from the fact that the copy-text editor looks forward to final intentions rather than backward to the origin of intention.

Now, an interest in determining above all an author's final inten-

tions rather than in representing the evolution of his intentions still has much applicability to the editing of nineteenth-century fiction, particularly fiction of the first half of the century. Novels then were still set up from fair-copy holograph, with some copy more foul than fair. Compositors and publishers brought something less than awe to the verbal integrity of their authors' texts. Authors themselves often read proof carelessly, if at all. And later editions during the author's lifetime frequently contained many significant variants. These conditions contributed to the publication of garbled and inaccurate texts for some of our most important novelists, and copy-text editing has been exemplary in setting this deficiency right.

As the nineteenth century advanced, however, and as we reach the twentieth century, various changes in publishing conditions make much less useful the traditional concern with final intentions. The typewriter came into use in the 1880's, and by the nineties most novels were set from typescript. Authors began to exercise more and more discretionary control in the editorial preparation of their novels, demanding and receiving final authority for what was published. These and other changes meant that a twentieth-century writer of fiction was more apt than his fellow novelist of a hundred years earlier to find that what appeared in a first edition was indeed what he wanted to appear in that edition. Thus, the first-edition text of a modern novel will often be close enough to its author's final intentions, particularly for substantives, to make superfluous the large expenditure of time, effort, and money necessary to prove that this text is indeed a good text.

Dreiser's novels offer an excellent example of the futility of applying copy-text principles to the editing of much twentieth-century fiction. Dreiser wrote eight novels: *Sister Carrie* (1900), *Jennie Gerhardt* (1911), *The Financier* (1912), *The Titan* (1914), *The "Genius"* (1915), *An American Tragedy* (1925), *The Bulwark* (1946), and *The Stoic* (1947). Of these, *The Bulwark*, which had a very muddled career after it left Dreiser's hands, and *The Stoic*, which he left incomplete at his death, were the only novels for which he himself did not submit final copy and read proof. All of Dreiser's novels were printed initially from stereotype plates, and throughout his lifetime, with the exception of the 1927 revision of *The Financier*, these plates were used for all American reprintings of his novels.

I do not mean to suggest that copy-text editing of these eight novels would not be demanding and laborious despite the relative simplicity of their publishing history. Since we do have instances of changes in the plates, all editions of the novels published during Dreiser's lifetime would have to be collated. In addition, the availability of a manuscript copy-text for each of the novels would doubtless result in many minor and perhaps a few significant emendations, for typists and compositors have been known to err and proofreading authors to nod.<sup>5</sup> There would also be some cruxes to resolve: whether to restore the proper names in *Sister Carrie* which Doubleday, Page insisted that Dreiser change; whether to publish the 1912 *Financier* or the 1927 revision; and whether to attempt to return *The Bulwark* to Dreiser's initially submitted version or to accept, as he did, those revisions by Mrs. Campbell which were not cancelled by Donald Elder. But all in all, with the exception of the texts of the posthumously published *The Bulwark* and *The Stoic*, I do not think that this vast expenditure of labor would result in a significant contribution to Dreiser scholarship. Rather, I think that copy-text editions of Dreiser's novels would elicit from reviewers that by now clichéd and depressing formula which appears again and again in scholarly journals: "Although no important shifts in the reading and meaning of the novel have resulted from the painstaking efforts of the editors, we are nevertheless grateful that its text has now been authoritatively established." Well, for Dreiser's novels I for one would be as grateful for a carefully prepared paperback edition of a first-edition text. An edition of this kind would of course lack absolute authority, but it would have a sufficient degree of authority to cast doubt on the need for an edition which required great effort to increase that degree by a small amount.

The editorial problem in Dreiser, therefore, is not to determine his final intention but to use the material at hand to demonstrate how he reached that intention. At this point it would be well, however, to attempt to counter two possible objections to this editorial aim. The first is that the genesis of a work of art may be of interest to a writer's biographer but has little significance for the literary critic who is the principal user of a text. This objection would probably have been raised more vehemently some twenty years ago, though hoarse echoes of it can still be heard, particularly among graduate students.



Today, there are few mature critics who do not consider themselves the wiser for an awareness of an author's creative process, whatever overt use they make of this awareness. The second objection is that the proper vehicle for a genetic study of a novel is an article or monograph rather than an edition of the work itself. This objection, however, misses the purpose of including prepublication forms in an edition. The intent is not to replace or preclude further study but to supply additional resources for both the scholar and critic. For most modern novels, this additional material would enrich the critical scene incalculably by offering to a large audience that which is generally available only to the scholar with access to a research collection.

My attempt, in this very long introduction, has primarily been to maintain that Dreiser's fiction can best be edited for a scholarly audience by a method which comes to grips with his special circumstances as a twentieth-century novelist who, for the most part, supervised his first editions and who saved his prepublication material. I would now like to discuss more specifically the problem of how an editor can achieve the aim of offering the scholarly reader both a substantially reliable text of Dreiser's novels and a large body of prepublication material from which that text emerged.

This aim can be achieved, I think, but it cannot be accomplished with the completeness and uniformity usually associated with the goals of textual editing. Some day, if interest in Dreiser is great enough, and if a very cheap form of printing or photoduplication is discovered, an edition of *An American Tragedy* may appear which includes every word, every mark of punctuation, and every cancellation which Dreiser ever committed in connection with that novel—a body of material which occupies twenty large manuscript boxes in the Dreiser Collection. But we probably shall not have that boon in our lifetime. Selectivity, therefore, rather than completeness is a necessity. Nor is uniformity feasible or even desirable. There are at least four distinctive kinds of prepublication textual history for Dreiser's novels, and each kind requires a different editorial method. First, *The Bulwark* and *The Stoic*, Dreiser's two posthumously published novels, contain editorial revision which either did not have Dreiser's approval or which he approved out of a weary disinclination to trouble himself any further with the matter. These novels demand conventional copy-text editing, before any prepublication editing is



undertaken, in order to achieve an authoritative text and to make available in the apparatus the basis for the choice of that text. Second, *Sister Carrie* is an example of a novel which has a substantially authoritative first-edition text and whose prepublication textual history can be described as "clean." By this term I mean that there is extant, for the most part, an unbroken genealogy, or record of transmission, from the earliest state of the novel to its published text, with no extraneous bodies of manuscript. *Jennie Gerhardt* is an example of a third kind of prepublication textual history, one which can be called "messy." For novels of this kind, some important prepublication states are missing, some have been cannibalized (that is, portions of them have been incorporated physically into later manuscript versions), and some are dead-end states (that is, they are early drafts which were almost totally discarded at some later point in the writing process). *An American Tragedy* also has a "messy" genealogy, but its prepublication texts have in addition a characteristic which is important enough to represent a fourth kind of editorial problem. For the extreme bulk of the preserved manuscripts of *An American Tragedy* makes necessary not only a high degree of selectivity but also a special form of presentation for the material selected. I will limit my discussion to the last three kinds of editorial problem—those posed by *Sister Carrie*, *Jennie Gerhardt*, and *An American Tragedy*—since these novels are usually acknowledged to be Dreiser's best and since they offer an opportunity to describe three different methods of editing prepublication material.

Dreiser wrote *Sister Carrie* between October 1899 and April 1900.<sup>6</sup> He wrote the first draft in pencil on the small yellow sheets he habitually used during this period. He apparently had difficulty continuing at several points and relied upon his close friend Arthur Henry as a pump primer. Henry would read to where Dreiser was stuck and then himself pick up the plot for a few pages, at which point Dreiser would again proceed. In addition, Henry corrected Dreiser's English here and there, as he also seems to have done with Dreiser's magazine articles of this period. When Dreiser, for example, wrote in *Sister Carrie* the typically Dreiserian sentence, "Where the jewelry was there also she lingered," Henry revised to "She lingered long in the jewelry department." But most of the comparatively few revisions in the holograph are in Dreiser's hand. The one major revision appears to

be a joint effort of Henry and Dreiser. In the original, discarded conclusion of *Sister Carrie*, the novel ends with the death of Hurstwood, preceded by a long section—almost twenty-five holograph pages—on the relationship between Ames and Carrie and on Carrie's intellectual growth under Ames' tutelage. On second thought, probably prompted by Henry's criticism, Dreiser compressed the final Carrie-Ames passage severely. He also expanded the last two paragraphs of this material into a rhapsody on Carrie's never-to-be-fulfilled quest for happiness and beauty and shifted this effusion to the end of the novel. The effect of these important changes was to lessen the significance of both Hurstwood and Ames at the close of the novel and to return the thematic emphasis to Carrie herself. This revised conclusion reflects the close working relationship between Henry and Dreiser during the composition of *Sister Carrie*, for it is based on Dreiser's original two paragraphs and on notes for their expansion supplied by both Henry and Dreiser. Relying on this foundation, Dreiser wrote a draft of a new conclusion, from which Henry made a fair copy which included a number of his own verbal changes, changes which Dreiser accepted.

The holograph of *Sister Carrie* was then given to Anna Mallon for typing. Miss Mallon, who ran a typing agency (she was to type Frank Norris' *The Octopus* later that year), was also the object of an active courtship by Arthur Henry, and she prepared the typescript with care and dispatch. With the complete typescript before them, Dreiser and Henry undertook two further revisions, the first verbal, principally by Dreiser, the second an extensive cutting, principally by Henry.<sup>7</sup> In particular, Henry cut many of those chapter-opening passages of Balzacian philosophizing so loved by Dreiser. Most of these cuts would have been suggested by any editor with a sense of fictional pace, but a few probably have a more personal basis. For example, Henry cancelled a section of scolding editorial comment by Dreiser on Hurstwood's extramarital interest in Carrie. Since Henry himself was neglecting his wife in Ohio in favor of Miss Mallon, he no doubt found this passage especially extraneous.

After being rejected by Harper's, *Sister Carrie* was accepted by Doubleday, Page, though, as we all know, the novel was eventually published by that firm with great reluctance. During the controversy over publication, both Page and Doubleday insisted that Dreiser re-

move profanity—primarily some “damns”—and that he alter the names of prominent commercial establishments and living persons. The typescript was therefore returned to Dreiser with the offensive material noted by question marks in the margin. Dreiser omitted the “damns” but fought back on the issue of names, finally changing only a small number of those requested. The revised typescript was used as printer’s copy, and Dreiser himself read proof in October 1900. Although the proof, alas, is no longer extant, the relatively few substantive variants between the typescript and the first edition are in all probability authoritative.

Such, in compressed form, is the prepublication history of *Sister Carrie*. How is an editor who wishes to use this material to proceed? I believe that he must initially make two important decisions—that the first-edition text of *Sister Carrie* is of sufficient reliability to warrant publication without full copy-text emendation and apparatus, and that little would be gained by a transcription of the complete texts of the holograph and typescript states of the novel. These decisions would permit an editor to adopt a consciously analytical stance. His approach would be the opposite of the scribal editor, who is committed to the task of recording as accurately and as completely as possible the document at hand. Rather, his aim would be to note or to record material primarily in relation to its significance. Thus, he would omit entirely variations in accidentals unless a clear corruption in the first-edition text warrants a return to the holograph or typescript form. For substantive material, his concern would be for that which throws light on the themes and form of the novel, with the extent and manner of notation or presentation dependent on the importance of the material.

For example, the holograph contains two episodes which do not appear in the typescript. The first involves Mrs. Hale, Carrie’s rooming-house neighbor in Chicago, who instructs her in the ways of the city. The second concerns a Mrs. Wilson, a New York neighbor who aids Carrie in finding a theatrical position. Both blocks of material are flabby; they contain a number of scenes of little dramatic or thematic thrust. In their revision, Dreiser and Henry compressed the Mrs. Hale material and cut the role of Mrs. Wilson entirely. It would serve little purpose, I think, to reproduce these omitted passages fully, though their existence should be noted and commented upon. A



relatively brief revision, however, may warrant a full representation if it clarifies a major theme or aspect of form. While living with Drouet, for example, Carrie listens to a neighbor play a pathetic melody on the piano. In the holograph, Carrie is described as follows: "She was not delicately moulded in sentiment and yet there was enough in her of what is commonly known as feeling to cause her to answer with vague ruminations to certain wistful chords." In the typescript, however, Dreiser revised the passage to read: "She was delicately moulded in sentiment, and answered with vague ruminations to certain wistful chords." This revision, and a number of analogous changes and omissions, suggest that Dreiser increasingly refined Carrie's sensibility as he wrote the novel, and that he was therefore forced to revise passages in which his early characterization of her temperament clashed with his final estimation of it. The revision would thus be of great interest to a reader concerned both with the total configuration of Carrie's character and with certain discrepancies in her characterization which suggest an occasionally blurred or uncertain authorial intent.

An editor of prepublication material, in short, must above all be critically oriented. He must be aware of the principal critical cruxes in the novel—Carrie's decision to live with Drouet, Hurstwood's theft, Carrie remaining on the train with Hurstwood, Carrie leaving Hurstwood, and Dreiser's concluding meditation on Carrie—and he must be willing to meet the informed reader's expectation that he will supply full holograph and typescript variants of these passages. And he must also sense what can be abridged or omitted entirely. Editing of this kind cannot be done well in the current manner in which a team of bibliographical experts is responsible for the text of an author's works and an individual scholar prepares a biographical-historical introduction to a particular volume. It can only be done by an editor—or a group of editors—who is totally immersed in every textual and critical aspect of the book in question. Moreover, I do not think it worthwhile in a project of this kind to attempt to achieve the dual ends of much current scholarly editing of American fiction, in which a clear copy text is produced for possible later commercial use and all editorial commentary and textual apparatus is shunted to the rear of the book for scholarly reference. If an edition incorporating prepublication material is worth doing, it is worth doing in the man-

ner most usable by the reader, and the foot of the page is far more available than the back of the book.

To summarize, then, an edition of a novel whose prepublication history is relatively “clean” would contain the following: a long introduction, in which the editor describes the genealogy of the text and his aims and methods in editing its prepublication forms; the text itself, which would be primarily an unemendated first-edition text, without conventional textual apparatus;<sup>8</sup> and footnotes, which either would record the presence of omitted, revised, and rearranged prepublication material or would reproduce significant passages from such material.

The principal objection to an edition of this nature, of course, is that it permits too much editorial discretion. Editor A, with one idea of the major direction of Dreiser’s revisions and of the theme and form of the finished novel, will produce an edition with a particular body of prepublication material stressed by presentation or notation. Editor B, with another idea, will produce a more or less different edition. This objection is valid, and there can be no reply to it which will satisfy the scholar who asks that an edition achieve neutrality through completeness. By its very nature, an edition which distinguishes between material which should and should not be presented to the reader places a heavy burden upon the editor. But I view this burden as an advantage rather than as a handicap. The great editions of the past—particularly those of Shakespeare—have always been informed by a distinctive and vital critical sensibility, one which frequently has not only contributed to the establishment of an authoritative text but has also, by its richness and force, played a major role in the shaping of taste and therefore of literary history. I do not see why we cannot retain and encourage this old-fashioned full-scale involvement by the editor in his text. Earlier editors had to bring their taste, in addition to their knowledge, to bear on the solution of cruxes in printed books; modern editors of prepublication material must use these same faculties in the selection of what they offer to the reader. The value of Editor A’s edition of *Sister Carrie* would not be long in dispute. Like almost all our professional activity, the edition would be discussed and evaluated. If it is judged faulty or lacking, it would have to be done again, as we do again almost everything in literary studies, even most of the work we call definitive. If it is

judged worthy, it would last somewhat longer, but would still no doubt be refined and corrected in later versions. And by means of this process of acceptance and rejection of editorial decision we would be enriching our responsiveness to the novel.

The prepublication forms of *Jennie Gerhardt* constitute, as I noted earlier, a “messy” genealogy.<sup>9</sup> In brief, and in a much simplified account, Dreiser completed approximately two-thirds of the novel in the winter and spring of 1901, writing on the same kind of yellow stock he had used for *Sister Carrie*. For the next year and a half he attempted to revise extensively this portion of the novel as well as to complete the book, but his efforts were hampered by a debilitating nervous illness. Nevertheless, by the close of 1902, when he put aside the novel for almost seven years, he had fully revised his earlier work and had brought forward the book to approximately three-quarters of its final length. In October 1910 Dreiser resigned as chief editor of the Butterick magazines and undertook to complete *Jennie Gerhardt*. Working swiftly, he finished the novel in late December and had a typescript prepared, which he submitted to various friends for comment. Several of these readers criticized the “happy ending” of the novel, and Dreiser returned to his manuscript and revised much of the last quarter of the work, a revision which was then incorporated into the typescript. After considerable cutting of the typescript, *Jennie Gerhardt* was published in October 1911.

In order of composition or preparation, the significant and integral extant manuscripts of *Jennie Gerhardt* are:

(1) Thirty chapters of the initial draft, which was itself approximately 48–50 chapters long, much revised, with some missing sections. (Written in the winter and spring of 1901.)

(2) Thirteen chapters, twice revised, the second time heavily, of a typescript of (1). (Typescript prepared in the spring of 1901; first revision in the spring of 1901, second in the winter of 1901–02.)

(3) Thirty chapters, unrevised, representing a fair copy typescript of (2), reflecting the first revision of (2) but not the second. (Prepared in the spring of 1901.)

(4) A complete manuscript of the novel, consisting of (2) for the first 13 chapters and a holograph, in ink on large white sheets, for the remainder of the novel. However, the holograph contains pasted-in portions of:



- (a) The remaining 18 to 20 chapters of (1)
- (b) Chapters 16 to 30 of (2)
- (c) A carbon copy of (3)

(The manuscript represents an amalgam of much of Dreiser's work on the novel from the winter of 1901 to February 1911.)

The editorial problem in *Jennie Gerhardt* is to attempt to represent the most important aspects of this complex genealogy without engaging in imitative form—that is, without representing chaos by chaos. For if an editor sought to use each of these four states—the two holographs and the two typescripts—he would be forced to document such frequent instances as that in which a cancelled passage in the final holograph had not only been cannibalized from the first holograph but also had variant forms in both the first and second typescripts. The condition of the prepublication states of *Jennie Gerhardt* thus requires that the editor extend still further the principle of selectivity inseparable from all editing of prepublication material. His task is to decide which available states contribute most to an understanding of the genesis of the novel and on the basis of this decision to create an artificial “clean” genealogy by using these states for his documentation and omitting all others. Thus, for *Jennie Gerhardt* the most significant available states are the fair-copy typescript of the 1901 version (3) and the complete manuscript (4). The first preserves Dreiser's early idea of the novel, an idea which differs from the completed work in such matters as a fuller development of the experiences and character of Jennie's brother Bass, a harsher and less complex portrait of Senator Brander, and a seduction scene between Jennie and Lester Lane paralleling that between Jennie and Brander. In addition, the relationship between Jennie and Kane is here more the product of Jennie's self-sacrificing thoughts about her family and less the combination of familial need and responsiveness to Lester which it has in its final version. The complete manuscript represents Dreiser's concept of the novel before it was cut for publication.

The editor would explain in his introduction as fully as possible the complex genealogy which I have briefly described and would explain as well his choice of those prepublication states he is to use in the body of his edition. With some extraordinary exceptions, he would then confine himself in his notes to material from these selected states. The documentation of the genesis of *Jennie Gerhardt* would therefore



be less complete than that of *Sister Carrie*, both for the amount of available material used and for the representation of complex relationships among various portions of this material. But the reader would still have before him both an elaborate account of the textual history of the novel and the most important variant passages from the most important manuscript states within that history.

*An American Tragedy*, like *Jennie Gerhardt*, has a “messy” prepublication genealogy. In this instance, however, the sheer volume of significant extant material constitutes a distinctive editorial problem. For example, an editor would have to confront the following prepublication states: First, a twenty-chapter false start, in which Dreiser recounts at length the early history of the Griffiths family and introduces much autobiographical detail in his narrative of Clyde’s boyhood. This long account reveals the sources of the emotional resonance which Dreiser was able to establish between himself and Clyde as two boys from poor and narrow backgrounds who had the temerity to dream. Second, for Book Two alone, seven complete and distinctive writing states, consisting of a holograph, four independent typescripts of this portion of the novel, a version of Book Two in the final typescript of the entire novel, and a revised galley. Third, a number of important omitted sections, including a chapter on Clyde’s experiences and thoughts immediately after the automobile accident which concludes Book One, and a passage, concluding Book Three, on Reverend McMillan’s suicide and on rumors of a confession by Clyde. In the face of this great mass of significant material, the editor has a twofold task. First, as in the editing of *Jennie Gerhardt*, he has to select, from among the many prepublication states available to him, those states which best reveal the main lines of the novel’s genesis. This artificial “clean” genealogy would be documented primarily in footnote form. In addition, he would have to prepare a volume-long appendix in order to include important material of great length. An appendix of this kind would contain material both outside the “clean” genealogy, such as the twenty-chapter false start, and within it, such as omitted chapters and very long cancelled passages. The “outside” material would receive separate introductions and commentary within the appendix; the “inside” material—that is, exceptionally long sections from the “clean” genealogy states—would be cross-referenced between the appendix and appropriate points in the text of the novel.

An American Tragedy

This method of editing has the disadvantage of separating much significant prepublication material from its immediate context in the finished work, but it is a necessary adaptation to the condition of both a “messy” and a massive genealogy.

By now the main drift of my approach to the editing of Dreiser’s novels should be apparent. I think that the editor should discuss fully the genealogy of his text and should represent as much of the significant material in its prepublication states as is feasible. But I also think that different kinds of genealogies and of extant prepublication material require different kinds of editorial method, both in determining what should be included and how it should be presented. The editorial problem for Dreiser’s novels is thus immensely complicated and difficult, as it is for most of our modern novelists. But we should not let these difficulties deter us from attempting to solve the problem in a manner adapted to the availability of manuscript forms and commensurate with the high value we accord the best work of our principal twentieth-century novelists.

## NOTES

1. As Ellen Moers notes in her *Two Dreisers* (New York, 1969), p. 67n., Dreiser did not type.
2. The principal missing items are the holograph of *Sister Carrie*, which is in the New York Public Library, and the 1911 typescript of *Jennie Gerhardt*, which Dreiser sold to a private collector in 1922. A photographic copy of the *Sister Carrie* holograph, however, is in the Pennsylvania Dreiser Collection, and a carbon of the 1911 typescript of *Jennie Gerhardt* is in the Barrett Collection of the University of Virginia Library.
3. Two notable examples are Hyatt H. Waggoner’s edition of *The House of the Seven Gables* (Riverside Editions) and Harrison Hayford and Hershel Parker’s edition of *Moby Dick* (Norton Critical Editions).
4. Fredson Bowers, “Practical Texts and Definitive Editions,” in *Two Lectures on Editing* (Columbus, Ohio, 1969), p. 23, n. 1; and Hershel Parker, “In Defense of ‘Copy-Text Editing,’” *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, LXXV (October 1971), 339, 341.
5. The first-edition texts of *Sister Carrie*, *Jennie Gerhardt*, and *An American Tragedy*, for example, contain a number of typographical errors and garbled passages. Michael Millgate corrects eight minor typographical errors in his edition of

*Sister Carrie* (London, 1965), and René Rapin notes—in the *Explicator*, xiv (May 1956)—a garbled passage in *Jennie Gerhardt*. An example of a faulty transmission in *An American Tragedy* is “secret preacher” for “street preacher” in Chapter xxx of Book Three.

6. The discussion of the prepublication history of *Sister Carrie*, *Jennie Gerhardt*, and *An American Tragedy* which follows is based upon manuscripts and correspondence in the Dreiser Collection of the University of Pennsylvania Library. I wish to thank Mrs. Neda Westlake, Curator of the Collection, for making this material available to me. Since I have compressed my discussion of the genealogy of these novels and since my documentation is extensive, I have thought it best to postpone full notation until the appearance of my forthcoming *The Novels of Theodore Dreiser*.
7. In later years Dreiser differed in his accounts of who actually did the cutting. In a letter to Mencken on May 13, 1916, for example, he stated that it was Henry. However, on other occasions he maintained that both he and Henry participated in this stage of the editing. In an unpublished letter of December 16, 1937, to Louis Filler he wrote, “As for *Sister Carrie* being cut, it happened this way. When I finished the book, I realized it was too long, and I went over it and marked what I thought should be cut out. Then I consulted with a friend, Arthur Henry, who suggested other cuts, and wherever I agreed with him, I cut the book.” The typescript does not offer conclusive proof of responsibility because of the manner in which sections were deleted. The longest omissions, occasionally as much as seven or eight typed pages, were made by literally cutting out the section involved and then pasting together the two remaining ends of the manuscript. Shorter cuts, from several paragraphs to a sentence, were made by crossing out the desired passage. A characteristic of this second kind of omission suggests, however, that it was indeed Henry who was responsible for much of the cutting, since many of the cut passages have corrections in Dreiser’s hand. It seems that the process of editing was first a verbal revision by Dreiser, with perhaps some cutting, and then a major cutting by Henry, including many passages which Dreiser had revised but not deleted.
8. The “primarily” in this provision is important, since obvious errors and corruptions (such as those cited in note 5 above) which can be emended by reference to a manuscript state should of course be corrected and noted.
9. My account of the prepublication history of *Jennie Gerhardt* differs from that found in W. A. Swanberg’s *Dreiser* (New York, 1965) and Richard Lehan’s *Theodore Dreiser: His World and His Novels* (Carbondale, Ill., 1969). In particular, I take Dreiser at his word in letters of 1902 and 1903 that he had completed three-quarters of the novel, and I do not find any evidence in the manuscripts themselves for further composition between 1903 and late 1910.



# Bibliography and the Biographer

ROBERT H. ELIAS

MY TALK has a subtitle: "The Neglected '*Genius*.'" I purposely did not announce it ahead of time for the program and posters, because the printed words would have dispelled the ambiguity that I wish to provide for at least a moment. I hope that no one thinks that the biographer is the neglected genius, but I also hope that some may wonder, even in the midst of the centenary's homage, whether Dreiser is the neglected one or whether I am referring to his novel. In a way I am referring to both, although my discussion will center on the novel—and the subtitle in print carries the tell-tale quotation marks and italics. I am referring to both because I feel that much of Dreiser's genius is expressed in the way he relates autobiography to fiction—or literature to life, as William Dean Howells might have been inclined to put it—and *The "Genius"* is a fine example.

Most of Dreiser's fiction has, everyone surely knows, autobiographical passages and echoes in it. Dreiser's father peers through old Gerhardt, Asa Griffiths, and Solon Barnes; Dreiser's sisters manifest themselves in Carrie, Jennie, and Esta Griffiths; Dreiser himself is partly embodied in Carrie and Clyde Griffiths. Perhaps only Frank Cowperwood remains somewhat apart; yet he, too, in his understanding of his desires for the female presence, understands with Dreiser's voice. Eugene Witla, however, is most obviously Theodore Dreiser with the most transparent of masks—so transparent that we may feel that no genuine persona is present: simply a pseudonym. For the biographer and the critic interested in the creative process nothing is more fascinating than an author's struggle with objectification, and in Dreiser's career the writing of no novel tells us so much simultaneously about his personal difficulties and his aesthetic concerns as does the writing of *The "Genius."*

Much of the evidence appears to be in the text of the printed book (New York: John Lane, 1915). Here is the story of a romantic, Midwestern daydreamer who yearns for girls, idealizes the relationships that people his mind, becomes disillusioned in his encounters with

as he did so)

Now she let <sup>her uncertain</sup> ~~troubled~~ right into it. Her eyes were  
open with a gaze with half an inquiry, half  
a fear.

"Surgeon?"

"Yes."

"You love me then?"

"Oh, yes! yes! yes!"

And with that old time cry that brought back  
a last promise to him she yielded herself to his  
eager, unrequited and love tortured arms.

L'Envoi.

There appears to be in melancholia, for there is undoubtedly  
within, a basis for ethical and moral reflection. It  
may seem rather beside the mark that anyone in this  
peculiar moral and physical depression should have

The "happy ending" of *The "Genius."*

prosaic experience, reads Herbert Spencer, John Tyndall, Thomas Huxley, and Alfred Russel Wallace, and finally goes to New York, where the city becomes a spectacle for him, to become stimulated by the drama and excitement all about him. He is a painter whose evolving sense of the picturesque both serves him well and brings him to the brink of catastrophe. He succeeds, he marries, he resents his wife's possessiveness, he has a nervous breakdown, he works on the railroad in an effort to get hold of himself, he becomes an editor and finally re-establishes himself, only to have an affair with a girl in the organization that concludes by precipitating a marital crisis (his wife, desperate to retain him by making him a father as well as a husband, dies immediately after an agonizing Caesarean delivery), by depriving him of his job, and by leaving him without the girl or anything but nature itself. As Dreiser's character, Eugene is his own victim. Because he can respond to the sensuous he is a successful artist, but because he possesses that responsiveness he is ceaselessly vulnerable to the attractions of lovely eighteen-year-olds. They stimulate his propensity to idealize, disappoint him in the actual world, and yield to idealized successors, as he requires repeated stimulus to keep him "creative." His art and his capacity to idealize are thus inseparable. Eugene's women are not just figuratively speaking the handmaidens of his art. Losing them he turns to "the sparkling deeps of space" to generate new "art dreams."

The central problem is the problem of how the sensitive dreamer and artist who disregards social conventions can fare in a ruthlessly competitive society from which he hopes to remain detached. Everyone who was closely acquainted with Dreiser when *The "Genius"* was published would certainly have been able to read it all as a *roman à clef*. The Midwestern background, the name of Eugene's wife (Angela Blue), the nervous breakdown, the work on the railroad, the reading, the achievement of success in advertising and publishing, the affair with Suzanne Dale and consequent loss of his job were obvious equivalents of Dreiser's Midwestern background, his wife's name (Sallie White), his nervous breakdown, his work on the New York Central, his reading of Spencer, Tyndall, Huxley, and Wallace, his rise with Street & Smith and the Butterick Publishing Company, and his unsuccessful relations with Thelma Cudlipp leading to the loss of his job and eventually to separation from his wife. And had Dreiser's

friends known Dreiser intimately enough, and analytically enough, they could also have seen what biographers have since shown, that the central problem that Eugene struggles with was Dreiser's personal problem too. Although there were some obvious differences (Dreiser was not a painter; his wife had not died in childbirth), these could be accepted as satisfying the demands of fiction—they were scarcely introduced to provide disguise.

In an intellectually neat way *The "Genius"* as a book almost accounts for itself. When Dreiser had finished *Jennie Gerhardt*, he had also finished with the portrayal of temperaments like Jennie's. He had become more interested in the process of struggle—what Eugene finds picturesque—than in the poignancy of it. He had become more attracted to the depiction of individuals capable of great effort, embodiments of force like Charles T. Yerkes alias Frank Cowperwood, than to passive and touching failures, and it was only when he had contemplated and projected the end of Cowperwood that he could put individualistic possibility at an aesthetic distance and look further into the sparkling deeps of space. The career of Eugene Witla is essentially the career of Dreiser's point of view, the demonstration of his realization or belief that fulfilment could not fully lie in engagement with the sensuous world but required artistic contemplation of natural law in more abstract terms. In short, Witla was, it would seem, the Dreiser of 1915—or more accurately, the Dreiser of the text completed in time for publication in 1915, completed in all its important details after he had planned and perhaps drafted the completion of *The Titan*.

Yet even as I say this I am aware that it should have the sound of hypothesis. It really presupposes a great deal that may not be so. It presupposes not only that the resemblance of Witla's life to Dreiser's is meaningful, but also that the order of publication of Dreiser's first five novels corresponds with the order of their composition. The biographer with a bent for interpretation must be wary of resting on those presuppositions—regarding Dreiser or anyone else. It is, to be sure, much the easiest course to *have* to rest on them. The less evidence we have, the more we can speculate and re-create. It is, though, also the riskiest course. Some fine day someone may find facts to prove the speculations foolish. In regard to Dreiser, however, the biographer neither enjoys the luxury of liberated speculation nor



runs the risk of undocumented interpretation. Correspondence, manuscripts, typescripts, proofs, publishers' dummies, copies of varying states and issues of first editions abound in the Dreiser collection to disclose what may properly be presupposed and to establish what must be reconstructed and even re-thought. *The "Genius"* in particular provides a peculiarly arresting instance of what such treasures offer the biographer, both in complicating his task and in clarifying his understanding: without them the special place that this novel occupies in its author's life would be impossible to define satisfactorily.

I shall make myself a case in point. Beginning with Dreiser's printed texts and naively not even thinking to question whether the order of publication might be different from the order of composition, I concluded very early in my study of Dreiser that *The "Genius"* was quite clearly the expression of the Dreiser who had completed—at least in rough form—*The Titan*. And in precisely the terms I have already described. What a shock, then, to discover as the correspondence became available that *The "Genius"* was in existence before Dreiser had done much or any work on *The Financier* (published in 1912, three years before *The "Genius"*). Obviously he could not have conceived of the novel in its total outline until after the crisis precipitated by his relations with Thelma Cudlipp and his departure from Butterick's in October 1910; but he must not have waited very long to begin his account; for as early as February 24, 1911, he reported to H. L. Mencken that he was "half through"; in April he committed himself to deliver it to Harper's, expecting to complete it around May 1; and in June he began to receive comments about it (not quite completed yet) from friends who were critical of his handling of character and plot. Eleanora R. O'Neill, a Boston book reviewer who frequently wrote Dreiser long letters about his work and about literature generally (she had "a fine mind," he once said to me), wrote him in June not to hurry with his portrayal of Angela at the close but to treat the operation with care and perhaps ask a doctor to let him in on some such case. By the end of the month Dreiser, having either anticipated or followed the suggestion, was receiving letters from Dr. Leonard K. Hirshberg, the Baltimore doctor whose Mencken-written articles on child care Dreiser had run in the *Delineator*, supplying information about the needs for and the methods of Caesarean deliveries. Less than a month later Eleanora O'Neill

asked Dreiser to send her the last third of the novel, and after “a three days session of soul-racking examination” of that, criticized the denouement because she could not accept Eugene’s adjustment to a fixed dogma—apparently Christian Science. Meanwhile, or immediately thereafter, on July 13, Decima Vivian in Randolph, Vermont, acknowledged the arrival on Monday the 10th of the “*Genius*” manuscript and stated that she had begun typing it. Whether it was the complete manuscript that she received at that time cannot be determined, but she must have had it before long; for by August 8 Dreiser was sufficiently finished with the book to devote himself to gathering data for *The Financier*, leaving Decima Vivian to type into the summer, and perhaps the fall. On October 15, in a letter to William C. Lengel, he referred to *The “Genius”* as a completed novel and to *The Financier*, then in progress, as a fourth novel. At the same time he was waiting for typescript copies of *The “Genius”* to show Mencken and the Floyd Dells. Whatever might be the biographer’s neat interpretation, associating *The “Genius”* with the Dreiser whose *The Financier* and *The Titan* were behind him, there is no escaping the fact that a book entitled *The “Genius”* was completed before the fall of 1911.

Yet the fact poses more questions than it answers. It is not only the biographer’s logic that is challenged; it is also the puzzling response of Dreiser’s earliest reader. There is a discrepancy between the book of 1915 that we know and the book as Eleanora O’Neill interpreted it in 1911. Eugene is certainly attracted to Christian Science—he certainly reflects seriously upon its validity—but one finds it difficult to argue that he actually accepts it as a dogma that speaks satisfactorily to his need. The book leaves Eugene exploring this and other beliefs with an attitude that is speculative and a bent that is eclectic. One can only infer that Dreiser must have revised this denouement, but if he did, one wants to know when and how, and what biographical significance there is in his having done so. Without that information biography is shapeless.

Although it is not impossible that Dreiser could have gone to work as soon as he had Decima Vivian’s typescript in hand, there is no evidence that he did so—at least not immediately. He continued to receive criticisms of the novel well into 1913, but appears to have done no more than file away the comments for future reference. In March

1912 Eleanor O'Neill again expressed her appreciation of the book, while reiterating her dissatisfaction with the conclusion. If Dreiser had already acted upon her complaint, he would surely have let her know by then. She liked the rest of the book and wanted nothing cut. In August 1912 Lillian Rosenthal—a somewhat more demanding reader—recommended not only cuts but also a clarification of the origins or causes of Eugene's attitude toward women. Then in March 1913 Lengel, whose frank opinion Dreiser had solicited, wrote that, although he was tempted to advise publication because of the pain and effort that it had cost Dreiser to set it all down, he found the script too long, its present form inadequate, and its structure generally wanting in cohesiveness. He accordingly advised waiting until Dreiser could acquire a more satisfactory perspective. From 1912 into 1913, the correspondence shows, still others read it and commented, and during that extended period two typescripts were lost in the mails, requiring Dreiser to have a new copy made in the middle of 1913; but the references carry no implication that Dreiser had been busy making changes in the story. Having a new copy typed indicates mainly that he was interested in having a typescript available for making changes.

He had, after all, been busy with an immense number of other projects. He had late in 1911 gone abroad; he had written *A Traveler at Forty*; he had written and assembled sketches for a volume to be entitled *Idylls of the Poor*; he had tried his hand at some one-act plays, written "The Lost Phoebe" and other short stories, begun his autobiographical *The History of Myself*, made a start on *The Bulwark*; and he had gathered material in Philadelphia, Chicago, and London about Yerkes for his *Trilogy of Desire*, seen the first volume through the press, and brought the second to a point at which it was almost ready to submit to the publisher. With Harper's eager for *The Financier* and *The Titan* rather than *The "Genius,"* there had been no more occasion than there had been time for him to resume work on the earlier book. But as *The Titan* was nearing completion, he was once more free to work on *The "Genius"* and allow his interest in it to revive. By December 6, 1913, a finished typescript lay in the Century Company's safe as security, W. A. Swanberg has shown, against advances paid on *A Traveler at Forty*. If there were revisions, they could well have been embodied in this typescript—and apparently they were.



It is probably this Century typescript that survives among the Dreiser papers marked "first carbon." The evidence is circumstantial but persuasive. First of all, shortly before July 18, 1913, Dreiser told Mencken: "The second & only remaining copy (type) of the *Genius* was lost in the mails. Loss—\$135.00. A recopying is necessary. When it is done will let you know." Whatever typescripts we now have should postdate that letter. Secondly, on the title page of this typescript a notation in Dreiser's hand reads: "Theodore Dreiser/3609 Broadway/NYC." 3609 Broadway (River View Court) was the address of an apartment that Dreiser maintained from June 1911 into March 1914. The typescript then must have been completed before March 1914. Thirdly, it was certainly earlier than March 1914, for the title page refers to Dreiser as "Author of *Sister Carrie*, *Jennie Gerhardt*, *The Financier*, *A Traveler at Forty*, etc.," indicating that the publication date (November 25, 1913) of *A Traveler* was already certain but that the one for *The Titan* was not. Sheets of *The Titan* had been run off the press by March 1914. This typescript is then one that could have been in the Century Company's safe by December 6, 1913.

The only evidence that might argue for dating it even earlier than July is something one can read by holding the title page at an angle that permits the light to reflect from it revealingly. Through an erasure one can make out "From Wm. C. Lengel" and his address and phone number. If this means that Lengel read this version in March 1913, then of course it may have been done by February—yet because the title page mentions *A Traveler* among the books authored by Dreiser, it must have been late enough for Dreiser to have foreseen that book's definite publication. Of course, Lengel's name and address are not dated and could have been supplied in conjunction with a later reading. "How do you like it now?" Dreiser could have asked.

In addition, this appears to be the typescript that served as the basis for the 1915 text. (We know that by 1915 there was at least another typescript—one that Dreiser was marking up for serializing purposes—and we can speculate as Joseph Katz has done in *Proof 1*, that there was still another copy, a fair copy, that the compositor used. I am less confident than he is about the fair copy. However, that question is ultimately distinct from the one I am developing.) The present typescript appears to be the one on which the 1915 text was based largely because of its internal evidence. Numerous revisions in various hands,

one of them looking to me to be Dreiser's, are faithfully embodied in the published volume, and most important, the denouement is the one that readers know. Whatever Eleanora O'Neill objected to in 1911 and 1912 is no longer there. Some of the handwritten revisions were doubtless made later than 1913. Dreiser labored on it throughout 1914. "I am to try to edit it next month—and I am such a poor editor," he wrote Mencken, June 22, 1914. "I have been going over one copy but I am not near done and when I am it will be somewhat better pulled together than it is now and better written," he wrote Mencken again, on November 10, having just sent Mencken the first parts of the copy he had marked up for serial publication. And then in 1915 Floyd Dell and Frederic Chapman, the British reader for the John Lane Company, made further revisions. And still more changes seem to have been made in galleys. But the substance of the conclusion—the last two chapters and the "Envoi"—remained in 1915 as typed in 1913. If, as it appears likely, Dreiser had not worked on *The "Genius"* between the fall of 1911 and the preparation of this typescript, then the Dreiser of the published text (based on this typescript) was indeed the Dreiser who had in all major respects finished *The Financier* and *The Titan*.

Yet, one still must ask, was he also the Dreiser of 1911? How radical was the change reflected in the 1913 typescript? Was the change after all simply one of emphasis, of aesthetic rather than biographical importance? Or did the aesthetic consideration itself have biographical importance?

This time we fortunately need not depend on circumstantial evidence or the testimony of others. We have the complete manuscript—what, with a qualification that I shall mention shortly, is the original manuscript. A comparison of the "Century typescript" (the so-called first carbon) with this manuscript reveals differences both minor and major. The minor ones suffice to establish that the surviving typescript is not a transcription of the manuscript. Many phrases are different, and much discursive philosophizing has vanished—generalizations about marriage in the light of evolutionary theory, about Angela's condition, about love, about the capriciousness of passion and sexual attraction, about the relation of morals to emotion. How many typescripts removed from the source this surviving typescript is cannot be determined, but apart from all other evidence already cited, there are a



sufficient number of verbal differences to justify the inference that it was prepared after Dreiser had had a chance to revise the one that Decima Vivian typed in Randolph, Vermont, in the summer of 1911, a chance that I have been arguing did not occur before—or much before—the late spring or early summer of 1913. The major differences clarify more than that—namely, that a change in the conception of the story had occurred between 1911 and mid-1913. They are differences concentrated in the very denouement that has excited our curiosity: for the 1911 ending was fundamentally unlike the one that reached the compositor. (Here let me add that there also survives a “first typescript,” which appears to predate the first carbon by only a brief period: it reproduces the manuscript denouement but on its title page lists *A Traveler at Forty* among Dreiser’s works. Although its existence may complicate conclusive identification of the actual copy that the Century Company held for a while, its importance in the present context is in its confirming that the original denouement persisted into 1913.)

In the printed text, after Angela’s death, one recalls, Eugene “during a period of nearly three years” faces a crisis in belief, what Dreiser refers to as “all the vagaries and alterations which can possibly afflict a groping and morbid mind.” Now Eugene grasps at a belief or almost a belief in Christian Science, now at a belief or almost a belief in “a devil . . . , a Gargantuan Brobdingnagian Mountebank, who plotted tragedy for all ideals and rejoiced in swine and dullards and a grunting, sweating, beefy immorality.” Ultimately, he arrives at an acceptance of flux, change, and the spectacular character of life:

All apparently was permitted, nothing fixed. Perhaps life loved only change, equation, drama, laughter. When in moments of private speculation or social argument he was prone to condemn it loudest, he realized that at worst and at best it was beautiful, artistic, gay. . . .

Eugene and Suzanne pass each other one day on the corner of Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street, each silently and unrevealingly aware of the other, Suzanne wondering whether Eugene recognizes her, Eugene resolved to “cut her as she deserves to be cut. She shall never know that I care.” Dreiser quickly concludes the episode:

And so they passed,—never to meet in this world—each always wishing, each defying, each folding a wraith of beauty to the heart.

Other women enter Eugene's life. With some of them "relationships" develop—and end "as others had ended." Scenes, tears, separations, cold encounters. "Was he not changed, then?" Dreiser asks in the "Envoi," and answers: "Not much—no. Only hardened intellectually and emotionally—tempered for life and work." In the final paragraphs Eugene steps out of doors to look up at the night sky and ask himself:

"Where in all this—in substance . . . is Angela? Where in substance will be that which is me? What a sweet welter life is—how rich, how tender, how grim, how like a colorful symphony."

Great art dreams welled up into his soul as he viewed the sparkling deeps of space.

"The sound of the wind—how fine it is tonight," he thought.

Then he went quietly in and closed the door.

Not so in the original manuscript. Eugene faces the same crisis in belief (for nearly four years instead of three) but does not settle for flux, change, and the artistic rewards of regarding life as spectacle. What he salvages from "the debris" (as Dreiser terms it) is a somewhat more affirmative attitude and a new capacity for continued engagement:

His metaphysical tendencies were strengthened by reading and this in itself was a gain. Altogether he was changed notably and it is unquestionable that he was stronger and broader for what he had suffered, seen and endured.

He goes on to exchange letters with Suzanne, tells her that life does not look the same to him as it did: he no longer believes love is all, he wants to be a good father to Angela's child, and he wishes Suzanne a banal good fortune: "every joy through time to come." He then returns to Mrs. Johns, the Christian Science practitioner, and carries on extensive conversations with her, conversations that in the final version Dreiser abridged and moved to an earlier, less emphatic position. He is much moved; his understanding grows.

The scientific statement of being as laid down by Mrs. Eddy—"There is no life, truth, intelligence, nor substance in matter. All is infinite Mind and its infinite manifestation, for God is All-in-all" [—] gripped him firmly. He quoted the remainder of this to himself often—"Spirit is immortal truth; matter is mortal error. Spirit is the real and eternal; Matter is the

unreal and temporal. Spirit is God, and Man is His image and likeness. Therefore man is not material; he is spiritual."

Recalling, further, lines from Francis Thompson's "The Hound of Heaven," which in all the versions of *The "Genius"* he has recently read in his daily paper, he is strengthened in his self-confidence, and with a firm grip on his art decides to build a studio in Upper Montclair, where some other artists he knows are located and where he can execute the huge panels that he wants to do. His role in society becomes assured and overshadows his role in nature.

Then one day two years later, when he is walking along Fifth Avenue near 34th Street and "speculating on life and its vicissitudes as exemplified by his particular career," a voice greets him:

"Why Mr. Witla!" He recognized it instantly. It was Suzanne[']s. A strange thrill ran down his spine. She was crossing from a shop to an automobile.

"Suzanne!" was all he said.

He looked at her trying to find the old expression of half awake girl hood that had so entranced him. It was gone—or almost so. Four years of travel, observations, friendships had taken away that uncertain understanding of things and replaced it with a kind of sophistication that was still sweet but not so sweet. He added, after his first searching glance:

"This is a surprise! I *am* glad to see you. And how have you been?"

"Oh, practically the same."

"Quite the same?" he looked into her eyes.

"Yes, I think so[.]"

"And where is your mother?"

"At Lenox today. Mama trusts me more than she used to. She has given me a wider range of freedom."

(This, one must remember, is the scene that in the final version is reduced to their silent and final passing of each other at Fifth and 42nd.) Suzanne laughs a bit nervously; Eugene remains "only cool now and smiling [.] He had himself well in hand." He is glad, he says; his tone is paternal. He asks where she is staying, and she tells him. Then he tells her about how hard he has been working, how busy he has been preparing exhibits, how interested he has become in undertaking paintings for public buildings. Does she not think it odd? She does not ("looking slyly at his eyes & his hair"). She finds him still very attractive and asks after his little girl. He says that if it weren't for the



old feeling that her mother may still hold against him, he would invite her to his studio sometime—"bring some of your friends." Suzanne finds "no unbridled passion in this—only friendship." They are very polite, very correct. They shake hands genially in farewell. Each then thinks about the other and thinks about what he ought to be thinking about the other.

Eventually Suzanne visits the studio. (She happens to be in Montclair.) When Eugene responds to her knock by calling: "Entre!" his "voice thrilled her." She is a little pale—it is turning out to be more of an adventure than she anticipated. He holds out two hands, she holds out one.

"Suzanne!"

"Yes?"

Her eyes opened in their old, wide unsophisticated way.

"You came!"

"Yes—but—!"

"Oh, I'm so glad!"

He studies her face; she finally extends her other hand.

Her eyes were agaze with half an inquiry, half a fear.

"Suzanne!"

"Yes."

"You love me then?"

"Oh, yes! yes! yes!"

And with that old time cry that brought back a lost paradise to him she yielded herself to his eager, unregenerate and love tortured arms.

The "Envoi" that immediately follows is but an extension or corollary of this scene. Eugene grows "stronger and calmer" and now regards metaphysics as a source of beauty rather than as a refuge of rationalization. He thinks of the universe "as being good, not evil." All is illusion; all forms are manifestations of a will to live produced by illimitable mind. Like the Eugene who, in the published text, looks at the stars, this Eugene appreciates forms and the spectacle of life. But unlike the later Eugene he turns not to the deeps of space but the warmth of Suzanne. He enjoys reading the Bible, Kant, Spinoza, and Maeterlinck, and six months later he and Suzanne are married.

She was like him and he was like her[,] meditative, philosophic, introspective. She had thought definitely to forget him, but it was not to be.

They talked & talked of their estrangement—of all its peculiar ramifications [,] and their conclusion was that they were made for each other.

“Honey pot,” he said once, “it was to be, after all.”

“Yes. I’m sure of it. I always felt so. I always felt things would come out right. I don[’]t know why.”

He reads the same passage by Herbert Spencer about the infinity of space that the later Eugene reads, and like him regards it as peculiarly relevant (although in this initial instance he feels it has been “super-seded by something better”). But he is not one of whom Dreiser could then say what he would say of the later Eugene, that he was not changed, only hardened. Rather:

Yes, he was truly changed. Life was no longer the thing it once had seemed. It was calmer, sweeter. “There is a ruling power [“God” is crossed out],” he said. “It rules all—is all, and it is not malicious.”

He, like his later namesake, speculates about where in all of space Angela is, but our last view of him is not one that shows him going indoors with only his thoughts of the wind to accompany him to bed.

“Eugene?” called Suzanne.

“Yes. I’m coming, sweet.”

Despite the death of Angela, it is something of a Happy Ending. The two who were meant for each other have each other. Christian Science has helped Eugene reconcile natural science and beauty, and he has then been rewarded with Suzanne’s return. All might be illusion, but compared with what Mark Twain meant by that in *The Mysterious Stranger*, that idea here is a source of hope. In 1911, moreover, it could not have been a counsel for disengagement. The artist does not conclude by praising the sound of the wind; he goes in to embrace Suzanne. And there is no intimation that their relationship will be anything but constant.

That such a happy denouement was itself an acceptance of illusion Dreiser came to see by the time he had completed *The Titan*. There was no reality in individual triumph; “even giants are but pygmies,” Frank Cowperwood must learn. The struggle was splendid if futile—and futile if splendid. The particulars were but particles of space. There was pathos in believing otherwise; yet it was only the artist



who could perceive this—and only he who could know that what was truly fine was the sound of the wind.

In 1911, however, Dreiser had not faced the consequences of turning from a character like Jennie to one like Cowperwood—neither in his fiction nor in his life, really. What attracted him to Cowperwood was, as I have already suggested, something of an admiration for the energy and ability to survive—the ruthless individualism—that his earlier characters lacked. Not yet confronted with the futility of this individualism too, he was certainly not ready to accept futility as his own. In a sense the Eugene Witla of 1911 points toward Cowperwood and, because of his kinship with Dreiser, provides an image of wish-fulfilment. Or, replacing the terms of amateur psychology with somewhat more literary ones, I would rephrase it to say that the 1911 Witla is an objectification of Dreiser's search for a form of triumph, and that Witla's career is the correlative of what in 1911 Dreiser might well have hoped his own would, in the denouement within his personal life, resemble.

Of course it was patently false. Eleanora O'Neill could see at once that it made no sense, and William Lengel could more diplomatically criticize the want of cohesiveness. Dreiser had been too faithful to the real Eugene to permit rewarding him with a life that could not be. After all, Thelma Cudlipp did not return—Suzanne's reconciliation with Eugene was then but a projection into a desired future. And yet for that very reason it was Dreiser's story—the story of the Dreiser of 1911 who had not achieved the perspective of 1913, who could in fact not survive until 1913 unless he acquired the perspective Lengel prescribed. For to survive required distance, and since for Dreiser survival meant artistic commitment, the distance had to be as much aesthetic distance as psychological distance.

In this sense the differences one finds in the various stages of *The "Genius"* document Dreiser's dialog with life, or his endlessly dialectical attempt to make his ideas congruent with his feelings, and his art congruent with his experience.

In this sense, too, then, aesthetic concerns are inseparable from the biographical ones. Two further illustrations clarify the connections. In the manuscript one chapter begins:

It is useless to speculate upon the ethics of a situation of this kind [An-

gela's announcement of her pregnancy]. The passions are bound up with morals only when they are in control. They have nothing to do with them when, unloosed, like the fury of the sea, they rage and tear. Of what avail are ethical compasses and charts then. If the boat does not sink—if lives do not fail—ah then we may have use for ethics again—not otherwise.

And then, in the next paragraph, the chapter continues (there are minor revisions in the printed version):

This night was not without additional scenes[,] for in a way it was the most astonishing and tremendous in all Eugene[']s experience. He had not up to the time Angela walked into the room really expected anything so dramatic. . . . [etc.]

In the published text the introductory comments about ethics and passions do not appear.

In the manuscript another chapter begins:

It is useless to attempt a solution to the vagaries of passion and sex attraction which are forever astonishing the world anew. They are bound up in those subt[li]eties and mysteries of personality—seeming matter—which Carlyle and after him Wallace insisted were a product of mind and which Mrs. Eddy, the founder of Christian Science . . . [and so on for many more sentences].

In the published text that paragraph too has vanished, and the chapter is able to begin with the action proper. Examples of this kind of change—at the beginning of chapters, within chapters, between chapters—could be multiplied many times. Some changes were made in time to be embodied in the 1913 first carbon; some only in time for the final proofs. What they all demonstrate is not only an artistic awareness of the value of keeping the motion of a long narrative from becoming mired in rumination, but also an artistic need for liberating Dreiser as the character Eugene from Dreiser as external commentator. So long as the authorial presence intrudes, the character is not free to work out his own destiny. In this respect the 1911 ending is the ending of a commentator—one that has not been worked out in actual experience. (To be sure, some fabrications were never expunged. Angela's death is a fabrication, as is her pregnancy. Unlike Eugene, Dreiser was sterile. The point is that whatever Dreiser

ser has made of experience is what Eugene must make of it on his own without the ghostly verbalizing of his creator.) The novel, in short, must comprehend experience, not merely footnote it.

In his elimination of the authorial presence Dreiser actually made the story more his own. The commentary became the action, and the author became his character. The *story* was *Dreiser*, not just Dreiser's marionette. At the same time, it was also more autonomous—and autonomous, it served better to suggest that Dreiser had gone beyond private dogma to tell it just as it was. He had to eliminate semblances of invention.

Here one recalls that the earliest publication yet found carrying Dreiser's name as a by-line, albeit as Carl Dreiser—printed in the *Chicago Daily Globe*, October 23, 1892—was entitled "The Return of Genius" and the story, or fable, finally shows how genius renounces silver and jewels, along with undying fame, for the world of men, who "are nearer to me than silver and jewels." It was the world of men to which Dreiser had to remain faithful, whether as participant or as observer. His fiction required the sustenance of the verifiable.

I have alluded to the "*Genius*" manuscript as the original manuscript and implied that this manuscript reflects Dreiser's initial conception of his novel. That requires qualification. Dreiser's papers disclose that many times he started a story, stopped, and then started it all over again. A little like Mark Twain, maybe. Marguerite Tjader once said how struck she was by the way Dreiser could in his final rewriting of *The Bulwark* in 1944-45 dictate (without resort to notes, outlines, or previous drafts) passages, even whole chapters, that reproduced virtually verbatim what he had written years before. For *The Bulwark* and some other works various drafts can be compared. For *The "Genius,"* however, we have no sheafs of other "*Genius*'s." Yet there is evidence of a manuscript that was begun even before the one that I have been discussing and that demonstrates how close was Dreiser's identification with Eugene.

It is not news that passages, at least one of them chapter-length, in *The "Genius"* are with very few verbal modifications used again in *A Book About Myself* and that some of the characters (usually girls) appear in both simply under different names. What may be news is that if Dreiser's earliest conception of *The "Genius"* had been carried out, there would have been even more basic similarities between the

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slightly slipping his feet as he walked  
and took a desk, which was nothing  
more than a segment of one great long  
the desk, fastened to <sup>the</sup> wall and divided  
by ~~various~~ varnished partitions of light  
oak, where he immediately opened a  
drawer and took out a slip. This he  
friskily filled and lighted. After which  
he began to examine some papers he  
had in his pocket. Eugene liked his  
look.

Then he entered in next a pale, dishevelled  
creature in a ~~gray~~ steel gray suit of  
not to wear a look who took a seat.



two books. I once stated that the *The "Genius"* was "originally drafted to concern a St. Louis newspaperman, then changed. . . ." For reasons that now escape me, I neglected to cite a source. I hasten to do so now. The source is a fragment of what appears to be Dreiser's first start of the novel, and it is to be found where one would not expect to find it—buried inside another manuscript.

If one opens the box containing the manuscript of what Dreiser originally entitled *The History of Myself. Vol. II*, but first published as *A Book About Myself*, one notes that the first eighteen pages of Chapter I generally correspond to the first three-and-a-half pages of Chapter xvi of the published text. Although the discrepancy in the numbering of the chapters may be initially arresting, it is only momentarily so. Dreiser had been working on his *History* since 1912, and one can readily imagine that when it came time to publish the second volume before the first, he or Horace Liveright—or someone else in the firm—decided to begin the book with fifteen chapters treating the two years preceding Dreiser's arrival in St. Louis. What is more than momentarily arresting, however, appears later in the manuscript of the chapter. On page 19 the paper is suddenly different—smaller, yellower, older—pasted on the larger, standard-size typewriter paper that matches the bulk of the manuscript. And it remains different through page 32, which concludes the chapter, and the first twelve pages of Chapter II (on page 13 of the second chapter the manuscript is once again the standard white). In addition, one notes that Dreiser in inserting these older sheets in the later manuscript superimposed the appropriate page numbers on erasures of earlier, and different, numbers. It does not take long to realize that these earlier pages are something other than an earlier draft of the *History*. Beginning on page 19 (which happens to be itself a fragment) one reads about Hazard's entrance to the offices of the *Globe-Democrat* while Dreiser is waiting to see the editor, Joseph B. McCullagh. Although the passage is almost identical to the one appearing on page 91 of *A Book About Myself*, there is one word that makes for an important difference. Hazard is wearing a

Fedora hat, a short, cream colored overcoat which had many wrinkles around the skirts where he was evidently accustomed to sit on it, and rather noticeable striped trousers. He came in with a brisk air, slightly skipping his feet as he walked[,] and took a desk, which was nothing more



than a segment of one great long desk, fastened to the wall and divided by varnished partitions of light oak, where he immediately opened a drawer and took out a pipe. This he briskly filled and lighted, after which he began to examine some papers he had in his pockets.

Except for the presence of a few modifiers that Dreiser later deleted, the passage thus far contains nothing notable. But in the sentence that follows to conclude the paragraph—where *A Book* states: “I liked his looks”—the manuscript states (page 20 now): “Eugene liked his looks.”

“Eugene”! Twenty-six pages, or parts of pages, from a version of *The “Genius”* which showed Eugene Witla working for the St. Louis papers exactly as Dreiser had done—exactly enough to serve as part of Dreiser’s autobiography. Indeed, the only changes that Dreiser bothered to make in these earlier pages were to replace Eugene and the third-person-singular with the first-person-singular, and even these changes he did not consider sufficiently important to make throughout. Eugene and the third person are obliterated in the last twelve pages of the first chapter but reappear and remain through the first eight pages of the second. It is only on page 9 of Chapter II that “I” finally replaces “Eugene,” and the initial “fiction” merges with the book of fact. The “history” of Eugene is the history of Dreiser.

The story of the writing of *The “Genius,”* then, is both the story of Dreiser’s effort to be faithful to what his knowledge could confirm and the story of his progressive self-knowledge. The “becoming” of *The “Genius”* is Dreiser’s own “becoming.” And if there was even only a faint stroke of genius in what he did, it was in his making himself in this instance his own correlative.

This is the biographical insight that bibliography makes possible.

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New York

# Theodore Dreiser's *Ev'ry Month*

JOSEPH KATZ\*

THERE had been magazines for girls and wives before the eighteen nineties, but their prices and contents were slanted towards a relatively narrow audience. Expensive at fifty cents a copy or more, they had been a heavy blend of genteel writings and elegant fashion plates served up to the taste of those leisure-class females who were gazing across the Atlantic for ideas as well as for husbands. No matter what they were called, those were ladies' magazines. Then in the nineties the urgent need was to satisfy an enormous distaff readership who wanted less lofty material. Prices dropped, formats became less forbidding, typography and makeup sprightlier, and illustrations both more numerous and more lively. The old magazines tried to give the new readership what it wanted, in the ways it desired. And as the tired ones refurbished, fresh magazines for women dashed upon the scene. Enter Theodore Dreiser.

Dreiser's *Ev'ry Month* was one of the new magazines for women that appeared in the rush.<sup>1</sup> It was at the same time one of the oddest and the most interesting of them, for its issues cumulatively form an important document in the democratization of the periodical. Those twenty-five issues published during the two years of Dreiser editorship are both a key to the integration of women into the world outside their homes and an indication of the ways in which magazines aided the change. Modern readers may enjoy as naive the hucksters' advertisements and the transparently eager articles or fiction, but contemporary subscribers probably looked forward to their *Ev'ry Month* as a medium of sophistication. For just that reason the magazine allows unique access to the way in which Dreiser transformed himself from a wayward newspaperman into a literary titan. Before it he was drifting towards oblivion; after it he was able to work himself into a type of twentieth-century artistic independence.

Conceived by Dreiser when "The Purple Cow" first appeared, in May 1895, and born a few months later, *Ev'ry Month* was in its own

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way as curious an achievement as Gelett Burgess' notorious poem. The odds were against the magazine's survival. Few editors could have had less experience than Dreiser when it began: barely twenty-four, not only had he never been on the staff of one before, but also he seems never even to have been published in a magazine until then. And fewer publishers could have had less experience than Howley, Haviland & Co. when it began its new venture: a music publishing house, it had begun business only a few months earlier, in 1894, and none of its three partners had had any experience in heading a business. If *Ev'ry Month* did not have the benefit of expertise, there was no compensation in backing either: throughout Dreiser's editorship the magazine clearly was a shoestring operation, dependent upon minimal support and whatever additional revenue it could itself generate. Those are the three classic symptoms of a brave idea about to be given a sure and sudden death. Against all the odds, however, *Ev'ry Month* did more than survive—it thrived. As Dreiser carried it through twenty-five issues he laid for it a foundation sturdy enough to support the magazine past his precipitate resignation and the later dissolution of its publisher. His were the hidden strengths that overcame its weaknesses: his the desperate drive to succeed, his the improvisational ability, his the instinctive identification with newly arrived middle-class women.

Dreiser identified with them because he shared their values and their origins. He had been born in 1871 to a family that had fallen over the economic verge into a marginal existence by the time he came along. But unlike most of his brothers and sisters he had chosen to strive beyond a mere living. After high school, a dismal year at Indiana University, and many undistinguished jobs, he thought that a way of rising might be newspaper work. From 1892 through 1894 he wrote his way from one Midwestern paper to another—*Chicago Globe*, *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, *St. Louis Republic*, *Toledo Blade*, *Cleveland Leader*, *Pittsburgh Dispatch*—turning his hand to drama criticism and feature writing as well as to reporting, and picking up a large acquaintance among newspapermen along the way. Just when he seemed to have achieved moderate success, he acknowledged that for an ambitious journalist the Big Time was the New York City dailies, and at last they drew him.

He had been encouraged to come by the most successful member



of his family, his brother John Paul Dreiser, Jr. Thirteen years older than Theodore, Paul lived a life tailor-made for *My Gal Sal*, the 1942 musical that Hollywood loosely based on it. He had run away from home at age sixteen, and changed his name when he joined Dr. Hamlin's Wizard Oil medicine show. Hawking the quack cure-all began a career which brought him through minstrelsy and music halls to fame as Paul Dresser. While Theodore was struggling with the newspaper experience, Paul was a wild success as an actor, song writer, and bon vivant—an imposing figure on Broadway. So when one day in 1894 Paul walked his visiting younger brother down the avenue, displaying his city, pausing to shake a hand, tell a joke, buy a drink, Theodore took it all in, wide eyed. His brother had made it. And when Paul expansively told him that, really, New York was the only place for a coming man, Theodore listened and believed. "In other words," he echoed years later when thinking about another newspaperman, Richard Harding Davis, "if you have it in you to be great you must come to New York."<sup>2</sup> In the fall of 1894 he came.

Once he arrived he was disappointed. Although his credentials had been good in the Midwest, they were inadequate for New York. The city was a magnet that had attracted too many others like him, and the competition for a place on any paper there was cutthroat. His savings rapidly dwindled while he made interminable rounds. At last in desperation he confronted an editor of the New York *World*: "I want a job," he almost shouted. He got one, but it was on the very bottom rung of the ladder. Above him was a tyrant of a subeditor who sent Dreiser onto the streets as a leg man and a space-rate writer. He was to be paid neither according to what he discovered nor what he wrote, but by the column length of what was published from his pen. The first day he earned \$1.68, less than the pay of a street cleaner. He was soon dismayed to learn that whenever he turned up a good story he would be told to pass it on to one of the staff men—for free. It took only a few months for him to realize he had failed on Park Row. One Saturday he brought in a story about a missing girl whose body had been brought to the morgue. When once again he was instructed to give away the facts, he decided on a showdown with his boss. Dreiser complained:

"I don't see why I should always have to do this. I'm not a beginner in

this game. I wrote stories, and big ones, before ever I came to this paper.”

“Maybe you did,” he replied rather sardonically, “but we have the feeling that you haven’t proved to be of much use to us.”<sup>3</sup>

So Dreiser quit before he could be fired. He spent some time hunting for another job, but there was nothing.

It was May of 1895, but he probably did not spare a moment to think about the publication of “The Purple Cow” then. Survival was on his mind. Broke, in need of help, he looked for Paul. He went to find him in the office of the newly formed Howley, Haviland & Co., of which Paul owned one-third. “The space this firm occupied was merely one square room, twenty by twenty,” Dreiser later recalled, “and in one corner of this was placed the free ‘try-out’ piano.”

In another, between two windows, two tables stood back to back, piled high with correspondence. A longer table was along one side of a wall and was filled with published music, which was being wrapped and shipped. On the walls were some wooden racks or bins containing “stock,” the few songs thus far published. Although only a year old, this firm already had several songs which were beginning to attract attention, one of them entitled *On the Sidewalks of New York*. By the following summer this song was being sung and played all over the country and in England, an international “hit.” This office, in this very busy center, cost them only twenty dollars a month, and their “overhead expenses,” as Howley pronounced it, were “juist nexta nothin’.” I could see that my good brother was in competent hands for once.<sup>4</sup>

But now, when Theodore needed him, Paul was not in the 4 East Twentieth Street office. He was away, touring in some show. However, while Dreiser was there looking for his brother, he managed some eavesdropping that changed his life. Paul’s partners, Patrick Howley and Frederick Benjamin Haviland, were talking over an idea of starting a small magazine to push their music sales. Haviland had worked for Oliver Ditson & Company, a giant music publisher, before joining in his own firm, and he knew that Ditson’s *Musical Record* had proven useful in that way since it was begun in 1878.<sup>5</sup> The more the distraught Dreiser thought about this conversation, the more it seemed to him a way out of his troubles. A few weeks later he went to Howley and Haviland with a brash proposal. Let him begin a magazine and it would be better than Ditson’s. *Ev’ry Month*

would be something special. The *Musical Record* was for teachers, students, and buffs, but his magazine would reach a larger market, the families who bought Howley, Haviland's songs—or so, from the evidence of the periodical, the conversation might have run.

At any rate, the partners decided to give him a trial. Dreiser would get ten dollars a week while he was setting up the first issue, fifteen dollars a week afterwards. The new editor was absorbed into the East Twentieth Street office that spring and summer of 1895; and in September—after the resort season had ended, once everyone was back in the city—the first issue, October 1, 1895, appeared. From the early days to the end of his editorship, its title page proclaimed that *Ev'ry Month* was "Edited and Arranged by Theodore Dreiser." Desperation had won a place for him; hard work, ability, and instinct would have to secure it.

Instinct must have played a prominent role in Dreiser's editorship of *Ev'ry Month* because the magazine seems to have hit a target different from the one at which he had aimed. Apparently he thought he was creating a magazine for the whole family; in fact he had shaped one that was snapped up by its women. The story can be read in the frequent shift of subtitles for *Ev'ry Month*. It is a history with a neat beginning, middle, and end, which grew out of the different interests of editor, publishers, and readers.

Early issues seem to have been directed towards a general readership, one interested in various kinds of entertainment and information. This direction is reflected in the subtitle that appeared on both the wrapper and the title page of those issues: *An Illustrated Magazine of Popular Music and Literature*. The emphasis on "popular" is appropriate for the subsidiary publication of a music house interested in pushing its wares to the largest possible market. But in the April 1896 issue priorities were reversed, and both wrapper and title page read *An Illustrated Magazine of Literature and Popular Music*. In the light of Dreiser's later achievements, the new emphasis seems right. Despite two more subtitle changes on the wrapper, this one clung stubbornly to the title page during the remainder of Dreiser's editorship. A herald of the third change on the wrapper was an announcement on the front of the June 1896 issue that "EV'RY MONTH having obtained control of THE WOMAN'S MAGAZINE its excellent features will hereafter be combined with this Magazine, and the whole known as



THE WOMAN'S MAGAZINE AND EV'RY MONTH."6 It was not; but in July the wrapper was subtitled *The Woman's Magazine of Literature and Music*. For the readership reflected by the sharpening focus of the magazine's articles, that was the most appropriate subtitle of all. However, in June 1897 the wrapper was changed again, this time implying a compromise worked out between editor and publishers. Now there was no subtitle on the cover; in its place were labels—"Music" and "Literature"—affixed to the contents boxes. But Dreiser did not like compromise. He rarely was satisfied with less than everything. Three months later, after he had prepared the October 1897 issue, there was the inevitable quarrel and he stormed out of the office and away to other things.

While he worked on *Ev'ry Month*, however, it was his magazine. He gave it everything. He had to. Howley, Haviland & Co. was a new business, presumably with tight capital. Because they went into the magazine as a secondary enterprise in order to push their first, they must have spared it as little money as possible. Dreiser evidently had to make do with a small budget, and he did so heroically. June, July, and August of 1895 were put to good use as a tooling-up period while he discovered ways to make much out of little.

The magazine's cover suggests how well he succeeded. It speaks of careful planning for flexibility that would permit a good deal of visual interest at minor cost. A plate was made to surround the title with elaborate scrollwork that also framed five windows. They allowed Dreiser to create the illusion of variety; at the same time he retained a continuity of identification. All he had to do was to dress the large window on the left with a different pretty face for each issue, change a few lines of type in the four other windows, and use different inks when he could. The technique worked. It was so successful that the plate art he had commissioned was retained even after he left. That was a cover for all seasons.

But the cover is only one clue to the ingenuity with which Dreiser managed *Ev'ry Month*. Even more than the cover, the contents demonstrate that he had a talent—nearly a genius—for the editorial scavenging needed to run a magazine on a shoestring. Most of the material in the early issues probably cost him nothing at all. He seems to have devised ways to get free the illustrations essential to a mass magazine in the nineties. All of the early pictures look suspiciously



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FEBRUARY NUMBER

# EV'RY MONTH



THE WOMAN'S MAGAZINE  
OF  
LITERATURE  
—AND MUSIC

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# EVERY MONTH

An Illustrated Magazine of Literature and Popular Music

Vol. III. No. 5.

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Price 10 Cents.

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PHOTO BY J. SCHLOSS, N. Y.

CAUGHT IN THE STORM.

Title page of *Ev'ry Month*, February, 1897.

like either promotional handouts distributed by agents, managers, and publicity people boosting their clients, or studio photographs traded in exchange for prominent credit lines. That clearly was the way information and drawings came for the fashion columns: as part of a deal in which the magazine promoted and took orders for the patterns of one house. And fillers, those short poems and paragraphs that fill in the space at the ends of major articles, must have come free: standard editorial practice during the nineties was to clip things from other publications, usually without asking and always without paying. Welding such inchoate trifles into an appealing magazine must have been no small job. But Dreiser did it. He earned his fifteen dollars a week the hard way, by giving Howley, Haviland & Co. a one-man creative, editorial, and production staff.

Of course a man who could do that could also cajole a little help. Dreiser did. Friends, especially those he had made while a newspaperman in the Midwest, supplied some material to eke out the early pages. For that reason *Ev'ry Month* gives depth and texture to Dreiser's autobiographical writings, while they in turn serve as a guidebook to the volunteer staff he rounded up for the magazine.

For example, there were Peter B. McCord and Richard Wood. Dreiser discovered them in the art department of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* when he began work there in 1893. Later, in 1919, after he had published five jarring novels, two books of travel, one of short stories, and two of plays, he wrote about them in a group of early character sketches that went into another book, *Twelve Men*. These were memorials to a dozen people whose lives he found striking. On the whole the sketches are good Dreiser and major work, with those about the men who had something to do with *Ev'ry Month* among the very best. One of them, "Peter," the first sketch in *Twelve Men*, focusses on McCord and characterizes Wood. They had been important to him: McCord, "he of the tramp-like hair and whiskers . . . was so cordial, so helpful"; while "A more romantic ass than Wood never lived, nor one with better sense in many ways."<sup>7</sup> Although Wood and McCord were inseparable, Wood jealously guarding his friendship with the more impressive man, Dreiser managed to make friends of them both, participating in a trio that enlivened his time in St. Louis. When he went to New York, his friends stayed behind; but when he began *Ev'ry Month*, they responded handsomely to his



call for help. McCord, under his own name and, presumably, under the pen names of "The Enthusiast," "James McCord," and "J. Rhey McCord" did burlesques, fiction, and verse which he illustrated himself. ("I noticed one thing," Dreiser wrote, "that although Peter had no fixed idea as to what he wished to be—being able to draw, write, engrave, carve and what not—he was in no way troubled about it.") Wood did romantic fiction and verse.

There was William Marion Reedy. Reedy, a friend of Joseph McCullagh, Dreiser's former editor on the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, became editor of that city's *Sunday Mirror* three months after Dreiser went to work for McCullagh. Dreiser could have met Reedy during his eighteen months in St. Louis; certainly he must have known of him as a celebrity then. Among the interests the two men shared was Harris Merton Lyon, a talented writer who worked for the *Broadway Magazine* while Dreiser was running it during one of his fallow periods. When Lyon died at the age of thirty-three only ten years later, after he had frittered away his time, Dreiser and Reedy shared disappointment at the waste. Dreiser recorded his feelings in "De Maupassant, Jr.," seventh of the *Twelve Men* sketches, there referring to Reedy several times as the "Western critic and editor" who had discovered and encouraged Lyon. By that time, at least, they knew of one another. When Dreiser took on *Ev'ry Month*, he reprinted three of Reedy's pieces: "Hall Caine and His Life of Christ" and an obituary of McCullagh from the *Sunday Mirror*; and a memorial poem on Eugene Field from the *Globe-Democrat*.<sup>8</sup>

And there was Arthur Henry. While Dreiser was working his way from St. Louis to New York in 1894, he paused for a time on the *Toledo Blade*. Henry was his editor there. The two became extraordinarily close, Henry encouraging Dreiser to write *Sister Carrie*, and Dreiser in turn concluding *A Princess of Arcady*. Dreiser dedicated the first printing of his novel to Henry, then became angry at him and withdrew the dedication from all future printings. So Henry does not appear in *Twelve Men* (the falling out was too recent then), but later on he is given prominent mention in *A Book About Myself*, the second part of Dreiser's autobiography. "If he had been a girl I would have married him, of course," Dreiser mused there. "It would have been inevitable. We were intellectual affinities."<sup>9</sup> With his wife Maude Wood, Henry followed Dreiser to New York in 1897. From



then until the time Dreiser quit the magazine, he published one of her things and several of his in *Ev'ry Month*. Starting with a short poem, "Love's Messenger," in March 1897, and concluding with "The Doctrine of Happiness" that October, Henry served the magazine as its apostle of good feeling.

But all that Dreiser's friends could do to help him did not much lighten his burden during those early months of *Ev'ry Month*. Ultimately he wrote a good part of each of those issues. The first Christmas number, for example, had thirty-two pages and apparently very few contributors. Four songs came from Howley, Haviland & Co., Jules Naton & Co. supplied information and sketches for the "Fashion Notes," and someone named Strong Ford wrote the "Decorative Notes." They were regular contributors of those features at the beginning, but they provided too small a base on which to build a magazine. Even though McCord and Wood came through nicely with two things apiece, Dreiser still had much to do. The list is staggering. He edited the issue, but almost certainly he also wrote most of it. Captions to the illustrations were his, of course, as was the text of the fashion column. That was anonymous work. Then he assumed several false faces and behind them did all the rest. He was "The Prophet" who did the "Review of the Month" which began the issue; "The Cynic" who did "The Gloom Chasers"; "Edward Al" who did "The Literary Shower"; "S. J. White" who did "We Others"; and "Th.D." who did "The Drama." "For those Who Love Flowers," the anonymous column at the end, probably was his too. There were many names in the Christmas 1895 issue of *Ev'ry Month*, but most of them were the editor's.

Dreiser continued to write for the magazine under his multiplicity of names. The trick was to give readers the impression of a stable of writers with different personalities and interests. He carried it off. Each of his pen names was used for a certain kind of thing, so each developed a character of its own. "Edward Al" was the literary man, the book reviewer and commentator on things literary, until George C. Jenks took over the function in October 1896. (Dreiser formed the name from those of two favorite brothers: Edward M. Dreiser and Alphonse J. Dreiser. He also used it after he left *Ev'ry Month*, when he was grinding out magazine pieces as a free-lance writer.) "S. J. White" was the sentimentalist, who wrote such things as the

intermittent literary calendar that responded to the change of season, and to whom was ascribed a verse in the May 1896 issue which really had been borrowed from a well-known prayer.<sup>10</sup> (This pen name Dreiser took from his sweetheart, Sara Osborne White, nicknamed "Jug." They had met on the train to the Chicago World's Fair in 1893, when she was a school teacher on a prize trip and he was reporting the Fair for the *St. Louis Republic*. They were betrothed that year, but waited until he could make a living before they were married.<sup>11</sup> His use of her name appears to be a curious love gesture.) "The Prophet," however, was serious, the magazine's resident philosopher, social commentator, and cultural advisor, whose section was called "Reflections" for a time. (That title may have been borrowed from William Marion Reedy's more urbane *Sunday Mirror* column.) "V. D. Hyde" wrote from the woman's point of view, beginning in July 1896.<sup>12</sup> "Th.D." mainly was the drama critic, although he sometimes did other kinds of feature work. Most elusive of all, however, was "Theodore Dreiser," the editor *in propria persona*, writing his first published short story, "Forgotten," and his first published verse. He appeared only twice in the magazine, too infrequently to have established a personality.

In a remarkably short time, Dreiser had made the magazine sufficiently successful to attract more contributors. Not that *Ev'ry Month* then became a large, professional operation: from the beginning to the end of his editorship it remained very much his magazine. What did happen, though, was that around the spring of 1896 it caught on with its women. Of course when *Ev'ry Month* began it already contained elements that would appeal to them. A tall, slim, heavily illustrated paper of thirty-two pages at first, it sold for only ten cents a copy or a dollar a year. For that modest price a reader was given piano arrangements of popular music, editorials, personality sketches, book reviews, fiction, verse, pictures, and other features including practical advice on dress, flowers, and domestic management—all saddle-stitched into a two-color wrapper. *Ev'ry Month* gave value for the money.

One of its chief attractions, of course, was Howley, Haviland's music. In that respect it was a bargain. For her dime a reader was given two or more pieces that would be several times the price if bought separately—and she got them ten days before they were re-

leased to music stores in sheet form. In a day when competence on a musical instrument was a valuable domestic accomplishment because most middle-class families sought their entertainment at home, its music was a serious factor in the success of *Ev'ry Month*. It even dictated the size of the magazine, which was  $12\frac{3}{4}$  by  $9\frac{5}{8}$  inches so that it would comfortably fit a piano rack or music stand. And Howley, Haviland & Co. published the kind of music a reader would want, even at higher cost. The tunes were melodic, the lyrics sentimental or comic, and the patterns of each were already established successes. So far the company had produced some of the most popular songs of the day—"On the Sidewalks of New York," "The Cat Came Back," "The Pardon Came Too Late," and "The Sunshine of Paradise Alley"—and it would continue to manufacture the anthems of the time. Parlor pianos across the country unceasingly tinkled songs written by Paul Dresser and published by Howley, Haviland & Co., and a thrifty woman could find many of them first in *Ev'ry Month*. She was ahead even if the rest of the magazine was dull. But it wasn't dull. Unlike the ladies' magazines, *Ev'ry Month* must have had a special attraction for office and shop girls, wives whose husbands' status was neither lofty nor secure, and any woman whose drive to know could be satisfied most comfortably with what an ambitious young middle-brow had to offer. And that was Theodore Dreiser in the mid-nineties.

If Howley, Haviland & Co. had calculated that the benefits from this magazine would be indirect and largely promotional, it must have been pleasantly surprised. Decades later Dreiser claimed to have built the circulation of *Ev'ry Month* to 65,000.<sup>13</sup> Certainly the signs to be seen in the summer of 1896 issues are that the magazine's circulation had been blossoming in the spring. One clue is physical growth. *Ev'ry Month* had thirty-two pages up to the August 1896 issue, then it had thirty-four pages, and by April 1897 it had reached a peak of forty-four pages. Another clue is the increase in its advertising. Advertisements filled only three pages—the wrappers—in December 1895, but seven in August 1896, nine in January 1897, and even more thereafter. This is real tribute: not only does it indicate advertisers' confidence in circulation figures of *Ev'ry Month* but it also speaks of money coming directly from the sale of space. A third clue—not so beneficial, but as sure a sign of success—is "Henry Williams." That is



the name used by a con man who had decided by June 1896 that it was worth his while to sell fraudulent subscriptions to the magazine.<sup>14</sup> And a fourth clue to the achievement of *Ev'ry Month* is that from the time of its second autumn it became less inbred in what it was publishing.

The new money that was coming in was used to buy more ambitious contents as well as size. From September 1896 on, Dreiser evidently added buying to bartering as a way of securing new material. Most of it came from a circle of acquaintances he was building among New York's professional writers and editors. Richard Duffy was an editor of *Ainslee's* who got Dreiser a job as writer and consulting editor on that magazine in 1898, after he broke away from *Ev'ry Month*. Duffy wrote a story for the May 1896 issue, even though for some reason everything but its conclusion on the inside back wrapper was wiped out. George C. Jenks, a free-lance writer and critic and the author of a host of dime novels, contributed more significantly by taking over the magazine's book reviews in October 1896 and serving as the resident literary critic after that. He was in Pittsburgh when Dreiser worked on the *Dispatch* there; if they had not met then, they certainly did later, for both men came to New York at about the same time. Gilson Willets became something very like a staff writer for *Ev'ry Month* too. A socialite turned author, he supplied fiction and used his connections to do articles on some of his peers. Beginning with "The Havemeyers at Home" in May 1897, he provided the magazine's readers with glimpses of how the Four Hundred lived. Most of the writers Dreiser drew to *Ev'ry Month* when money permitted are practically unidentifiable now. A roster of their names probably would comprise a *Who Was Who* among the minor authors, newspapermen, and poets who strove futilely for literary renown during the nineties—the unknown, who were fated to remain so.

But Dreiser was too ambitious to keep *Ev'ry Month* exclusively a haven for the never-was. Evidently he wanted names for its pages, and he discovered a way to get them at bargain prices. From September 1896 on, he patronized the literary syndicates, buying exclusively from their backlists in order to get work by popular writers at less than first-run cost. That month, for example, he published Stephen Crane's "A Mystery of Heroism," a Civil War tale first distributed by the Bacheller Syndicate the year before. The next six months he fol-



lowed this with other such purchases: in October, Madeline S. Bridges' "An Irish Love Story"; in November, Grant Allen's "Love's Old Dream"; in December, Robert Barr's "An Errand of Mercy"; in January 1897, Gilbert Parker's "Mathurin"; in February, Bret Harte's "A Night in the Divide"; and in March, Morgan Robertson's "Where Greek Met Greek." Afterwards, when he left, the magazine stopped buying from the syndicates, probably to save paying any kind of standard rate for material. While he was editor, though, there was at least one short story in every issue, most of them bought from organizations like Irving Bacheller's and S. S. McClure's. It is crucial to an understanding of Dreiser at this time that what he selected for purchase was similar to what he had earlier taken for free: popular literature of the kind that played on a reader's emotions either by surprise or by frank sentimentalism. It was the kind of fiction the nineties poured into print for the middle-class reader to devour avidly.

The illustrations Dreiser bought with *Ev'ry Month's* revenue were designed to appeal to the same taste. There were a number of these bespoke pictures. Credit lines which proclaimed certain photographs were made for *Ev'ry Month* began to creep among those identifying the studios that were still supplying pictures in trade. On occasion Dreiser even was able to commission artists to do drawings or paintings. And invariably these illustrations had a romantic cast, a popular slant.

To him the most important of the new *Ev'ry Month* pictorialists was a young illustrator named William Louis Sonntag, Jr. He appears in "W.L.S.," the last and one of the best of Dreiser's *Twelve Men*, as a clearly drawn original who personified realistic genius thwarted by fate. Dreiser displays him as a man whose versatile talents and bubbling enthusiasms were irresistible—"he was so ambitious, so full of plans."<sup>15</sup> He was persistent in facing experience on his own terms; but life defeated him as it did most of Dreiser's other eleven, cutting him down at age twenty-nine through fever he contracted while drawing the Spanish-American War. Dreiser grieved over Sonntag's lost possibilities, and saw him as his personal *memento mori*. When he stood by his grave Dreiser felt as if he

had been looking at a beautiful lamp, lighted, warm and irradiating a charming scene, and then suddenly that it had been puffed out before my

eyes, as if a hundred bubbles of iridescent hues had been shattered by a breath. We toil so much, we dream so richly, we hasten so fast, and lo! the green door is opened. We are through it and its grassy surface has sealed us forever from all which apparently we so much crave—even as, breathlessly, we are still running.

He remembered Sonntag, probably drawing upon him as one model for Eugene Witla, protagonist of his notorious novel *The "Genius"* (1915). That character begins his career as an artist with work which in real life would have qualified him for inclusion in the Ashcan School, the movement towards a native American pictorial realism that was rooted as much in newspaper supplement illustration as it was in French experimentalism. Sonntag was such an artist for Dreiser.

Dreiser tells the story of their meeting in "W.L.S.": when he had enough money for a color centerpiece in the Christmas 1895 issue, he decided to get Sonntag to do it. "I had known of him before only by reputation," he remembered, "or, what is nearer the truth, by seeing his name in one of the great Sunday papers attached to several drawings of the most lively interest."

These drawings depicted night scenes of the city of New York, and appeared as colored supplements, eleven by eighteen inches. They represented the spectacular scenes which the citizen and the stranger most delight in—Madison Square in a drizzle; the Bowery lighted by a thousand lamps and crowded with "L" and surface cars; Sixth Avenue looking north from Fourteenth Street.

Memory is treacherous. Sometimes it recasts the past the way one wishes it had been. *Ev'ry Month* supplies the facts with which to evaluate "W.L.S." as history, and they show that this memorial reshaping took place in the sketch. For one thing, Dreiser simply could not have seen Sonntag as often as he said he did. The painting appeared in the Christmas 1896 issue, not the one for 1895, so there was a year less for their friendship; and in the seventeen months remaining in Sonntag's life he was out of the country a good part of the time. More to the point, although Sonntag had indeed done mostly the kind of realistic work Dreiser described, he did none of it for *Ev'ry Month*. What Dreiser got from him for the \$150 he could spend was something very different: not one of the Ashcan School street

scenes he professed to have admired, but “A Christmas with Captain Kidd,” pictorial romanticism with its roots in Robert Louis Stevenson. When he went back to Sonntag again for the title-page design used in *Ev’ry Month* from February through November 1897, he bought romanticism once more—a drawing of the inevitable beautiful girl, her hair flowing down one side of the page. So, like any first-person narrative, “W.L.S.” turns out to be as much about the narrator as about its nominal subject. *Ev’ry Month* indicates that in this sketch Dreiser memorialized both himself and the artist from the point of view he attained later—not as either man really was then. By the time of *Twelve Men* he had declared himself a literary realist, and had withstood such enormous pressures as suppression of *The “Genius”* because of that stance. When he was editing *Ev’ry Month*, however, he was much like his readers mentally, like them striving to define himself in the midst of past prejudices, current turmoil, and erratic taste.

That appears in the *quid pro quo* deals on which *Ev’ry Month* continued to depend for its material. Obviously, its new money did not make it entirely independent of the need for them. In fact, Dreiser continued to develop new schemes for filling his pages free. One of them was particularly ingenious. It was his own version of the classic ploy in which an editor runs a feature article on an artist so that the artist will illustrate it at no charge. Dreiser had been doing something like that right from the beginning, printing photographs of scenes from plays he was reviewing in the drama columns. With the January 1897 issue he broadened the maneuver in two directions. That issue saw the beginning of Arthur Hoeber’s series, “American Women in Art,” which treated the reader to glimpses of both the artist and her work; and Dreiser’s own series, untitled, on favorite actors, which showed the subject in various roles, sometimes through photographs made specially for *Ev’ry Month*. Almost always the focus was on low art rather than high, the popular rather than the advanced.

The best demonstration of Dreiser’s orientation in his reader’s values is in his articles on two celebrated cartoonists. These began in November 1896, with “A Metropolitan Favorite.” The favorite was R. F. Outcault, inventor of the Yellow Kid, bad-boy hero of a comic strip set in New York’s slums. The Kid’s region was being treated seriously by reformers like Jacob Riis in *How the Other Half Lives*



(1890) and *The Children of the Poor* (1892), and by novelists like Stephen Crane in *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* (1893, 1896) and *George's Mother* (1896). But at the very same time it also was being developed as the source of dialect humor by such a precursor of Damon Runyon as Edward W. Townsend, whose "*Chimmie Fadden*," *Major Max*, and *Other Stories* (1895) was the rage then. Outcault began his Hogan's Alley comic strip in Joseph Pulitzer's New York *World*, where it became the first comic strip to be printed in color. So successful was it that late in 1896 William Randolph Hearst hijacked the cartoonist to his recently acquired New York *Journal*. Pulitzer countered by hiring G. B. Luks to continue drawing the Yellow Kid, and Hearst-Pulitzer rivalry flared into a sensational circulation war featuring the use of exceptionally dirty tactics. The story goes that the term "yellow journalism" derives from this battle between two papers for one popular comic strip; and that these tactics escalated until Hearst decided to exploit a local rebellion on a minor Caribbean island, heating his readers to a fever that demanded the Spanish-American War. Dreiser could not have known what would result from the popularity of Outcault's work. What he did know, however, was that it was popular, and that he could call upon the man for a letter, two photographs, and a specially drawn picture of the Kid boosting *Ev'ry Month*.

There may have been some tie between *Ev'ry Month* and the New York *Journal*. The magazine favored it frequently, preceding the Outcault feature with the music for Monroe H. Rosenfeld's "The Journal March," and following up on it in the next issue with an article on Homer C. Davenport, the second cartoonist. Probably, however, Dreiser was trying at least a little to revenge himself against the *World* for having shamed him the year before, deciding that one way to do it was to puff the rival *Journal*. Davenport was the *Journal's* political cartoonist, and Dreiser puffed hard. He remarked Davenport's integrity: "Self interest directs him to a certain extent of course, but he refused, when bid for by the New York *World*, to agree to caricature any but the men whom his convictions emphasized as deserving of caricature. He did not go to the *World*." One of the things he did do, though, was to supply information, six cartoons, and a photograph for "Caricatures and a Cartoonist" in *Ev'ry Month*.



So *Ev'ry Month* taught Theodore Dreiser some essential editorial lessons: how to put together a magazine on schedule; how to con people into contributing to it for reasons other than money; how to turn little into much; and—the most difficult lesson of all—how to find a medium of self-expression in the work of others. This knowledge, coupled with his instinct for knowing what his kind of people wanted, prepared him for what would follow in his career—years of free-lance writing together with more years of editing. That is important, because Dreiser supported himself for more than six years as an editor while he was forging the early work after *Sister Carrie*, reaching his editorial zenith with the direction of the Butterick publications for women.

## NOTES

1. *Ev'ry Month*, the first magazine edited by Theodore Dreiser, has been the great puzzle in the study of his development as a literary man. Although he had recorded his editorship in *Who's Who in America*, no one had explored the magazine until John F. Huth, Jr.'s "Theodore Dreiser: 'The Prophet,'" *American Literature*, ix (May 1937), 208-217. The reason is that copies had been completely unavailable. Huth reported that the only two locations for them in the *Union List of Serials* of 1927 were blind alleys: neither the Library of Congress, supposed to have a full set, nor the Oberlin College Library, said to have scattered issues, actually had any. Huth himself managed to find only eleven of the twenty-five issues edited by Dreiser; and there the situation remained for many years. Then, a few years ago, Dr. Neda M. Westlake, Curator of Rare Books at the Van Pelt Library of the University of Pennsylvania, began an intensive hunt to find copies for the Library's Theodore Dreiser Collection. Her search brought to the Library issues for April, June-December, 1896, and January-May, November, and December, 1897. By sheer good luck I have since found the most extensive run of *Ev'ry Month* known. It is complete during Dreiser's editorship except for the first two issues, October and November 1895, no copies of which have yet been discovered. The copies in my collection will be published in facsimile as *Theodore Dreiser's "Ev'ry Month": A Nineteenth Century Woman's Magazine* in 1973, with a foreword by Neda M. Westlake and an introduction by me.
2. *Ev'ry Month*, II (June 1896), 22. Dreiser wrote about his brother Paul several times, especially about their 1894 stroll in New York. Among the more important versions of the story are those in *A Book About Myself* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1922), pp. 438-457; "My Brother Paul," *Twelve Men* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1919), pp. 76-109; and *The Songs of Paul Dresser* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1927), pp. v-x. Information about Paul additional to that in biographies of his brother is in the brief obituary in *The New York Times*,

- January 31, 1906, p. 11; and in David Ewen, ed., *Popular American Composers* (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1962), pp. 51–52.
3. *A Book About Myself*, p. 501.
  4. *A Book About Myself*, p. 441.
  5. According to *A Book About Myself*, p. 441, Haviland was still working for Ditson during the early days of the new firm. His obituary is in *The New York Times*, March 31, 1932, p. 21.
  6. Just what happened is a puzzle. The *Union List of Serials* records three periodicals entitled *Woman's Magazine* but none of those seem likely to have been absorbed into *Ev'ry Month*. One, published in New York from 1896, became the *New Idea Woman's Magazine* in 1912, and it later was united with the *Designer* to become the *Designer and the Woman's Magazine*, a Butterick publication. (From 1907 to 1909 Dreiser was in charge of the Butterick journals, so he eventually did control it. But not now.) The second *Woman's Magazine* did not begin publication until 1899, in St. Louis. And the third—subtitled *An Illustrated Monthly Devoted to Art, Literature, Biography, Home Science, and Woman's Work in Industries, Missions and Reforms*—ceased in Brattleboro, Vermont, in 1890.
- If *Ev'ry Month* had absorbed a *Woman's Magazine* in fact, it probably was some unnoticed fledgling. Frank Luther Mott in *A History of American Magazines: 1885–1905* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1957), p. 362, points out that “Most cities of any size had women’s magazines at some time or another in this period. Any hustling publisher could start such a journal ‘on a shoestring’; he could get cheap literary help to write and clip miscellany for the household, contract with a printer to issue the new monthly on cheap stock, use the premium system to sell large numbers of subscriptions at twenty-five cents to a dollar a year, and by exaggerated circulation claims attract a flood of cheap advertising.” Most of these characteristics, of course, apply to *Ev'ry Month* itself at the beginning.
7. *A Book About Myself*, pp. 121–122. “Peter” appeared on pp. 7–52 of *Twelve Men* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1919), but the published version was heavily edited from what Dreiser wrote. For the earliest surviving version known of pp. 1–9, see Neda M. Westlake’s “Dummy: *Twelve Men*, by Theodore Dreiser,” *Proof 2* (1972).
  8. Max Putzel discusses Dreiser’s relationship with Reedy in “Dreiser, Reedy, and ‘De Maupassant, Junior,’” *American Literature*, xxxiii (January 1962), 466–484.
  9. *A Book About Myself*, p. 373.
  10. A poem, used as a filler at the bottom of p. 17, is signed “S. J. White” and reads:

I shall pass through this world but once.  
 Any good thing that before death I can do.  
 Or any kindness that I can show to any human being.  
 Let me do it now;  
 Let me not defer it.  
 Nor neglect it.  
 For I shall not pass this way again.

It appears attributed to Etienne de Grellet (1773–1855) in several dictionaries of quotations in the following way: “I shall pass through this world but once. If, therefore, there be any kindness I can show, or any good thing I can do, let me do it now; let me not defer it or neglect it, for I shall not pass this way again.”

11. They were married on December 28, 1898, when Jug was nearly thirty and Dreiser just over twenty-seven. Although they still were legally married until she died on October 1, 1942, they had been separated on and off since 1914.
12. Many scholars have contributed to the identification of Dreiser’s pen names. Donald Pizer builds on their work and adds much of his own in “The Publications of Theodore Dreiser: A Checklist,” *Proof* 1 (1971), 247–292.
13. Robert H. Elias, *Theodore Dreiser: Apostle of Nature* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), pp. 89, 317, reports the circulation figure from a lecture delivered by Dreiser at Columbia University on November 9, 1938.
14. A notice offering \$25 reward for the apprehension of Williams appeared in *Ev’ry Month* from June through September 1896.
15. *Twelve Men*, p. 359. Dreiser on Sonntag is from this sketch, which had appeared in variant form earlier as “The Color of To-day,” *Harper’s Weekly*, December 14, 1901, pp. 1272–1273. He had also written a poem: “Of One Who Dreamed: W. Louis Sonntag, Jr. Obiit May 11, 1898,” *Collier’s Weekly*, May 28, 1898, p. 2.

Sonntag’s obituary, to which Dreiser referred in “W.L.S.,” gives weight to Dreiser’s projection of him. It appeared in *The New York Times*, May 13, 1898:

“William Louis Sonntag, Jr., one of the rising young illustrators of the day, died on Wednesday in this city, after a brief illness. He was the son of William Louis Sonntag, the landscape artist, and was born in this city on Feb. 2, 1869. When only thirteen years old he exhibited a water color of the Brooklyn Bridge in the National Academy of Design, the picture finding a purchaser. He exhibited a number of water colors in the Academy in subsequent years, but gave most of his attention to illustrating, in which he had marked success. His work appeared constantly in the better-known magazines and weekly illustrated papers, his productions being the result of self-teaching.

“Mr. Sonntag married Miss Hattie Inglis of this city on Jan. 5, 1892. Besides belonging to the American Water Color Society, the Ohio Society, and the Society of Naval Architects, Mr. Sonntag was eligible to the Order of the Cincinnati. His great-grandfather, William Louis Sonntag, an officer in the French Army which came to this country to assist in the winning of American independence, was a member of that order. Mr. Sonntag’s home was at 411 West Twenty-third Street. His wife, his parents, and a sister survive him. The funeral will take place to-day, and the interment will be in Kensico Cemetery.”

For Sonntag as a link to the knowledge of Stephen Crane denied by Dreiser, and concealed by him in “W.L.S.,” see Katz, “Theodore Dreiser and Stephen Crane: Studies in a Literary Relationship,” in *Stephen Crane in Transition* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1972).



# Dreiser's Debt to Jay Cooke

PHILIP L. GERBER\*

THE FIRST of Theodore Dreiser's novels to be based less upon personal reminiscence than upon research was *The Financier* (1912). Having selected Charles T. Yerkes, Jr., as the model for his generic story of the American industrial millionaire, Dreiser utilized his experience as a reporter in gathering from all available sources the data needed in order to produce a full, verifiable account. Clearly, the result was satisfying to him, for even before the novel was published he boasted, much in the spirit of the then-popular muckrakers, that there could be no question as to the "truthfulness" of his facts; he had taken "no end of care" in assuring this. In a *New York Times* interview he reminded Montrose Moses that he had written previously on finance besides interviewing personally financiers such as Armour and Carnegie. "I've read," he added, "through nearly every book that has been written on financial conditions—Hyde's book, Lawson's book—and the rest."<sup>1</sup> He might have added, among "the rest," that he had read Oberholtzer's book, a work of more direct aid perhaps than any of the others.

Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer's exhaustive study of Jay Cooke, undertaken upon the financier's death in February 1905, appeared serially in *Century*, five parts being published between November 1906 and April 1907. Later in 1907 it appeared in two volumes under the title *Jay Cooke: Financier of the Civil War*, becoming at once the standard work on Cooke. At this time, three years prior to his active involvement with the manuscript, Dreiser was preparing for *The Financier*, and it was quite natural that he should turn to Oberholtzer. Not only had the biographer made use of Cooke's memoirs, but he had been allowed access to chests full of letters and documents held by the Cooke family, assuring a plenitude of precise detail. More important, it was during the startling Cooke failure of 1873 that Charles T. Yerkes, then fresh from his prison sentence for embezzlement of city funds, recouped his fortune and was enabled once again to assume a position among financial powers in Philadelphia and later in Chi-

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cago. Since Dreiser intended hewing to the verifiable outlines of the Yerkes career in portraying his fictional Cowperwood, the Cooke failure was necessarily to play a critical role in the later scenes of the novel.

The formative childhood period is all-important in Dreiser novels; all except *Sister Carrie* begin with the years in which adulthood is formed. He intended this full cycle for his Cowperwood, but details concerning the early life of his model were misty. Except for certain anecdotes supplied by Yerkes himself to biographical dictionaries in the 1890's, very little of a concrete nature existed. Often in such a case, Dreiser was able to adapt his own boyhood memories for fictional use, but in this instance his growing up in a footloose, amorphous, financially shaky family proved of no help at all in creating a youth for an instinctive commercial genius such as Cowperwood. In Oberholtzer, as luck would have it, the young manhood of Jay Cooke was depicted at length. Dreiser learned that Cooke had come to Philadelphia as a boy of sixteen in the spring of 1838, one year following the birth of Yerkes. In a general manner, then, the two were contemporaries. A number of Cooke's traits could easily be borrowed for the fictional rendition of Yerkes; others would serve to confirm Dreiser's imaginative portrait. For one thing, the two men were close to the same height, Cooke standing five feet eleven inches whereas Yerkes-Cowperwood is said to be five feet ten; and Cooke's own description of himself as "healthy as a rat in a granary" conforms to the physical perfection with which Dreiser endows Cowperwood.

A contemporary account of young Cooke, recorded by Oberholtzer, strongly suggests the imperturbability of Frank Cowperwood:

To the writer as a boy, Jay Cooke was a revelation. Never before had he seen one so deft in the business of handling money. . . . Jay Cooke surpassed them all. . . . There was no hesitancy, no pause, apparently, no thought, or mental effort. . . . There was no fluster, no perturbation, no thought apparently of a mistake being possible. As he counted he could talk also. He both asked and answered questions, briefly of course, but the like I had never seen and it astonished me. (*JC*, I, 69-70)

The same acquaintance comments on the "airiness" of Cooke's de-

meanor, “coupled with his bright young gracefulness and self-containedness,” and adds:

. . . I see him in imagination as I saw him then in his young manly beauty. Cooke, as I recall him at that time, was tall, slender, light-haired, blue-eyed, fair-complexioned, and of radiant countenance. I know not with what word I can better describe the smile of the mouth and the eye, the ever present winsome and intelligent expression resting upon that unusual face, which always met you silently but always so pleasantly. Brightness and cheerfulness characterized his whole personality. Every movement, every step, every motion of hand and arm, was a bright one. . . .

Nothing ever seemed to disturb his equanimity. (*JC*, 1, 70-71)

When Dreiser writes, as he does often in early chapters of the novel, of Cowperwood’s walking “with a light, confident, springy step” or of the youth’s “cheerful, hearty way of greeting people,” the debt to Oberholtzer becomes obvious. Throughout the novel, allowing for differences such as hair color, descriptions of Cowperwood and Cooke tally remarkably, and the adulatory tone used by Cooke’s contemporary is duplicated.

In Philadelphia young Cooke found himself amid a scene of active ferment whose first effect was to inspire lengthy letters to his brother Pitt in which his impressions were recorded fresh and in significant detail. Since a good number of the events he witnessed could be said to correspond roughly with events of Yerkes’ boyhood, facts and incidents were quite validly borrowed for use in *The Financier*, among them the historical observations with which Dreiser opens the novel:

Many of the things that we and he knew later were not then in existence—the telegraph, telephone, express company, ocean steamer, or city delivery of mails. There were no postage-stamps or registered letters. (*TF*, 1)

In Oberholtzer, these data, recorded from Cooke’s memoirs, had read:

We had in those days no telegraphs, telephones, express companies, or ocean steamers; no postage stamps, city deliveries, or registered letters. (*JC*, 1, 72; *DMN*, 12)

The early learning-experiences of Frank Cowperwood rise to a climax when he observes the famous aquarium duel between a lobster and a squid which closes the first chapter; the philosophy of life shaped by this experience is adapted to the human sphere when Cowper-

Nov. 17 - 1839 - (Jas Cooke to his brother Charles F. Yerkes,  
Esq. - Yerkes letter - was holding position very similar  
to his - so this officer in this case + as representing things  
Yerkes might have learned about) Two years since my  
suffragans came to this city + opened their office. They  
were then known to few + had little capital. Now they are the  
first brokers in the city + have the unlimited confidence of the  
banks + merchants. They cash along handsomely + honestly with  
what they had. Rich merchants who had more money than  
they required in their own business, but it to them and,  
what was more, lent them their names as references; and  
now they are doing a business amounting to millions in  
this year, + giving a clear profit of 40,000 to 50,000  
a year. Frequently in some great operation they pocket  
500 in a day



wood links the aquarium struggle with his chance observance of a street riot among anti- and proslavery groups. Dreiser had no evidence that Yerkes ever witnessed such a melee, but in 1838 Jay Cooke during his very first days in Philadelphia found himself among the crowd of 70,000 who filled the streets in the vicinity of Pennsylvania Hall when that building was burned on May 18 by a proslavery mob. Two days later the turmoil had not yet subsided:

The excitement still is very great and last evening the city was filled with mobs. The office of the *Public Ledger* was attacked because the editor was bold enough to denounce all mobs (though he did not advocate abolitionism) and nearly demolished. (*JC*, 1, 45)

It was the latter experience which proved most directly useful to Dreiser, who excerpted it in paraphrase:

He wasn't so sure about men living on men yet; but men did kill each other. How about wars and street fights and mobs? He had seen a mob once. It attacked the *Public Ledger* building as he was coming home from school. His father had explained what for, too. There was great excitement. It was about the slaves. That was it! Sure, men lived on men. Look at the slaves. (*TF*, 14)

Besides finding it possible to adapt such details directly in portraying Frank's youth, Dreiser saw a further possibility for using the biography via the boy's father, Henry Worthington Cowperwood. Cooke, writing home on May 20, 1838, had mentioned a Mr. Yerkes who acted as the head agent for passengers travelling the Leech canal-boat line between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. This was assuredly not Charles Yerkes' father, but undoubtedly a relative, the Yerkes and Leech families being closely related.<sup>2</sup> But it is quite possible that the mention of this "Mr. Yerkes" may have inspired the connection between Cooke and Charles Tyson Yerkes, Sr., for Dreiser at once created an analogy between the two, and quite naturally so, both men being active in municipal banking circles and during the same years. After copying from Oberholtzer an excerpt from one of Cooke's letters to his brother, Dreiser appended an aside:

Charles T. Yerkes, Sr.—Yerkes Father—was holding a position very similar to [Cooke's] so this applies in his case & as representing things Yerkes might have learned about. (*DMN*, 4)

Through this analogy, Dreiser was able to use further data, things not



Frank but his father would be aware of. In particular, the pair of anecdotes dominating Chapter Two derive from this approach. Conversations are contrived between the elder Cowperwood and his wife, to which Frank listens avidly. Thus he becomes familiar with a pair of schemers whose histories Cooke—and presumably Yerkes, Sr.—was aware of.

One of these men was J. B. Steemberger, “the most picturesque figure of the time,” a man of ingratiating personality who was successful in bilking Cooke’s brother Henry. In completing the boyhood education of Frank Cowperwood, the Cooke anecdote was lifted bodily from Oberholtzer in a manner so close to verbatim that to make any distinction is perhaps meaningless:

### *Jay Cooke*

. . . among the number that Jay Cooke saw at E. W. Clark and Company’s, was a great beef speculator from Virginia, J. B. Steemberger. “Nicholas Biddle, Cowperthwaite, Lardner, and other high officials of the United States Bank,” says the financier in his Memoirs, “were the victims of a numerous horde of borrowers, who seemed to be able to obtain from the bank all they asked for.” Steemberger was attracted to the city by hope of large credits.

“His operations in the purchase of cattle in Virginia, Ohio, and other states,” Mr. Cooke continues, “were vast, amounting, in fact, to an entire monopoly of the business of supplying beef to the eastern cities. He forced the price of beef up to thirty cents a pound when the consumers rebelled and by general consent ceased to purchase from him. Like all such attempts to mo-

### *The Financier*

He heard, for one thing, of a curious character by the name of Steemberger, who was a great beef speculator from Virginia at the time, and who was attracted to Philadelphia in those days by the hope of large and easy credits. Steemberger, so his father said, had formerly been close to Nicholas Biddle, Lardner, and others of the United States Bank, or at least friendly with them, and seemed to be able to obtain from that organization nearly all that he asked for. His operations in the purchase of cattle in Virginia, Ohio, and other States were vast, amounting, in fact, to an entire monopoly of the business of supplying beef to Eastern cities. . . . He had managed to force the price of beef up to thirty cents a pound at this time, causing all the retailers and consumers to rebel, and this was what made him so conspicuous. He used to come to the elder Cowperwood’s

nopolize, his was brought to ignominious failure, and as his losses must have been enormous, I presume the United States Bank, whence he obtained all his funds, was a great loser. When he found it impossible to get cash advances from the bank, he would give it his note at four months with interest, and take from it in payment its twelve months' post notes in denominations of \$1,000, \$5,000, and \$10,000. Frequently he brought down, stored away in his tall beaver hat, from \$100,000 to \$200,000 of these post notes. He would cash them at from ten to twelve per cent. under their face value and marketed them generally in Boston through the old firm of Gilbert and Sons, realizing a profit on each transaction of three or four per cent. In addition to this, as he made most of his disbursements in the West, we would pay him in packages of Virginia, Ohio, and western Pennsylvania bank notes at par and upon these we would realize a very handsome profit. (*JC*, I, 74-75)

bank, or, rather, the brokerage end of it, with as much as one hundred thousand or two hundred thousand dollars in twelve months—post-notes of the United States Bank in denominations of one thousand, five thousand, and ten thousand dollars. These he would cash at from ten to twelve per cent. under their face value, having previously given the United States Bank his own note at four months for the entire amount. He would take his pay from the Third National brokerage counter in packages of Virginia, Ohio, and western Pennsylvania bank-notes at par, because he made his disbursements principally in those States. The Third National would in the first place realize a profit from four to five per cent. on the original transaction; and as it took the Western bank-notes at a discount, it also made a profit on those. Young Frank listened to the story of these transactions with a greedy ear. They seemed wonderful to him; but this whole world of money was like a fairyland, full of delight. (*TF*, 19-20)

A parallel anecdote, the story of Francis J. Grund, was shifted to the novel with an even greater fidelity to its source. One may question Dreiser's free-and-easy use of a book which was only five years old when *The Financier* was published, but this was a habit throughout his career, one which led him into difficulty at times. Whether due to his reporter's instinct or mere egotistical disregard for others' rights, he appears to have considered any and all source materials his for the taking. In this case it might be argued that his borrowings are relatively innocent, coming as they do largely from accounts quoted

from Cooke's original documents, for the use of which Dreiser as well as Oberholtzer might make a valid claim.

This explanation is less satisfactory in justifying Dreiser's use of Volume Two of *Jay Cooke*. As his historically based story approached 1873 and the business panic in which the Cooke-Yerkes paths crossed directly, Dreiser again went to the biography as his major—and perhaps his sole—source. Material from Oberholtzer dominates Chapters Seventy-Three and Seventy-Four, and the borrowings are used in a variety of methods to portray Cowperwood at work transforming others' misfortunes into profits for himself. At times the biography—Oberholtzer's words, not Cooke's—is used in verbatim fashion, for example, in reporting press reactions to the Cooke failure and in describing the general consternation in financial circles:

"A financial thunderbolt," said the New York *Tribune*. "Like a thunderclap in a clear sky," said the Philadelphia *Press*. No one could have been more surprised, said the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, if snow had fallen amid the sunshine of a summer noon. . . .

The Lake Shore Railroad failed to pay a call loan of \$1,750,000, and the Union Trust Company allied to the Vanderbilt interests closed its doors, after withstanding a prolonged run. The National Trust Company had \$800,000 of government securities in its vaults, but not a dollar could be borrowed upon them, and it suspended payments. Suspicion was universal; rumor affected nearly everyone. (*JC*, II, 422-430)

"A financial thunderclap in a clear sky," said the Philadelphia *Press*. "No one could have been more surprised," said the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, "if snow had fallen amid the sunshine of a summer noon." . . . The Lake Shore Railroad failed to pay a call-loan of one million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars; and the Union Trust Company, allied to the Vanderbilt interests, closed its doors after withstanding a prolonged run. The National Trust Company of New York had eight hundred thousand dollars of government securities in its vaults, but not a dollar could be borrowed upon them; and it suspended. Suspicion was universal, rumor affected every one. (*TF*, 766)

Elsewhere, the biography provides the basis for paraphrase which on occasion bears strong resemblance to the original:



In Philadelphia the news reached the Stock Board in a brief despatch from the New York Exchange; "Rumor on Street of the failure of Jay Cooke and Company." In a moment the report was denied, but in a little while came the definite announcement: "New York, September 18th, Jay Cooke and Company have suspended." Almost the entire Board rushed into Third Street, and up to Number 114, only to find that the report was true. Two or three blocks away a little newsboy who shouted an "extra"—"All about the failure of Jay Cooke"—was arrested and taken to a "station house" by a policeman who was not early apprised of the disaster, so wholly unbelievable did it seem to be to all classes of the people. (*JC*, II, 423-424)

In Philadelphia, when the news reached the stock exchange, it came first in the form of a brief despatch addressed to the stock board from the New York Stock Exchange—"Rumor on street of failure of Jay Cooke & Co. Answer." It was not believed, and so not replied to. . . . A second despatch posted on 'change read: "New York, September 18th. Jay Cooke & Co. have suspended."

Cowperwood could not believe it. . . . In company with every other broker, he hurried into Third Street and up to Number 114, where the famous old banking house was located, in order to be sure. . . .

A policeman arrested a boy for calling out the failure of Jay Cooke & Co., but nevertheless the news of the great disaster was spreading like wild-fire. (*TF*, 766-767, 771)

Occasions exist also in which Oberholtzer's report is employed merely as the basis for data to be recast wholly into Dreiserian prose:

. . . the people were so full of isothermal lines, comparative latitudes and glowing facts about climates . . . that they were ready to enjoy the flowing satire of J. Proctor Knott. . . . "I see it represented on this map . . . that Duluth must be a place of untold delights. . . . "Zenith City of the Unsalted Seas." (*JC*, II, 308-309, 310)

. . . Cowperwood had seen a grand prospectus and map of the location of the Northern Pacific land-grant . . . extending from Duluth—"The Zenith City of the Unsalted Seas," as Proctor Knott, speaking in the House of Representatives, had sarcastically called it. . . . (*TF*, 770)

As circumstances might demand, an incident from *Jay Cooke* will be followed closely, yet at the same time be fundamentally altered in order to suit the novelist's purpose and to focus not on Cooke, but on Cowperwood. As an instance, Dreiser shifts an important scene of the panic from New York to Philadelphia, where his hero is located:



In New York the centre of debate and agitation was the Fifth Avenue Hotel, where on the evening of the 18th, the corridors were crowded with bankers, brokers, and speculators. The Stock Exchange had adjourned to that hotel. What of the morrow? Who would be the next to fall? were the topics in each mind, and upon each tongue. (JC, 11, 428)

For the initiated the center of debate and agitation was Green's Hotel, where on the evening of the eighteenth, the lobby and corridors were crowded with bankers, brokers, and speculators. The stock exchange had practically adjourned to that hotel *en masse*. What of the morrow? Who would be the next to fail? From whence would money be forthcoming? These were the topics from each mind and upon each tongue. (TF, 773)

In all instances, brief or extended, the excerpts from the biography are woven into the fabric of the Cowperwood story, often with considerable skill, so that their application is transferred utterly from Cooke to the hero of the novel. The effects of the panic on the stock market, for instance, which in Oberholtzer are offered as raw data, statistics in tabular form, are brought to dramatic life by Dreiser in a scene in which Cowperwood himself stands in the market amid a frenetic swirl of brokers unloading their shares before they fall more drastically in price. In this confusion, his the only cool head in the storm center, Cowperwood is able to recognize his full opportunity and employ it to maximum advantage. As this scene progresses, Dreiser's borrowings blend imperceptibly with Oberholtzer's originals to bring the story to its climax:\*

The next day was Friday[,] and suggested many ominous things. Would it be another Black Friday? [It proved to be that for a verity.] *Cowperwood was at his office before the street was fairly awake. He figured out his programme for the day to a nicety, feeling strangely different from the way he had felt two years before when the conditions were not dissimilar. Yesterday, in spite of the sudden onslaught, he had made one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and he expected to make as much, if not more, to-day. There was no telling what he could make, he thought, if he could only keep his small organization in perfect trim and get his assistants to follow his orders exactly.* Ruin for others early began (Dreiser wrote "began early") with the suspension of [the great house of] Fisk [and] & Hatch, [Mr.] Jay Cooke's faithful [agents] *lieutenants* during the Civil

\* The alterations which Dreiser made in Oberholtzer's account are enclosed in square brackets; his additions to Oberholtzer are italicized.

War. They had calls upon them for [\$1,500,000] *one million five hundred thousand dollars* in the first fifteen minutes after opening [their] *the* doors, and at once closed them again, the failure being ascribed to Collis P. Huntington's Central Pacific Railroad and the Chesapeake [and] & Ohio [Railroad,]. [particularly the latter as the firm was in the midst of its financial arrangements in behalf of that corporation. During that eventful day, a score of firms suspended in New York, and a dozen larger and smaller houses succumbed in Philadelphia. The bank in Philadelphia, however, upon which the maddest run was made, its depositors seeming to be determined to accomplish its ruin, weathered the storm. This was the Fidelity Trust Company. . . .] *There was a long-continued run on the Fidelity Trust Company. News of these facts, and of failures in New York posted on 'change, strengthened the cause Cowperwood was so much interested in; for he was selling as high as he could and buying as low as he could on a constantly sinking scale. . . . By Monday afternoon at three o'clock he figured that, all losses and uncertainties to one side, he was once more a millionaire, and that now his future lay clear and straight before him.* (JC, II, 428-429; TF, 773-774)

Before Frank Cowperwood also lay Chicago, a city ripe and waiting to be plucked by an entrepreneur of his stamp. Here a new start might be made, a fortune reaped, and the bad taste left in the mouth by disgrace in Philadelphia eradicated. With Frank's departure for the West, Dreiser's reliance on *Jay Cooke* was ended. The rest of the story was amply documented. Newspapers and an outraged citizenry took care of that.

## NOTES

Key to Abbreviations:

JC = Oberholtzer, Ellis Paxson. *Jay Cooke: Financier of the Civil War*. 2 vols. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co., 1907.

TF = Dreiser, Theodore. *The Financier*. New York: Harper, 1912.

DMN = Dreiser Manuscript Notes, being a chronology of materials compiled for *The Financier*, arranged and numbered by the author and now held in The Charles Patterson Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania.

1. Montrose J. Moses, "Theodore Dreiser," *The New York Times Review of Books*, June 23, 1912, p. 378.
2. The relationships between the families are detailed in Yerkes' privately commissioned genealogical volume, published in 1904 under the title *Chronicle of the Yerkes Family with Notes on the Leech and Rutter Families* (compiled by Josiah Granville Leach).

# Dreiser's "Notes on Life": Responses to an Impenetrable Universe

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THE eighty-seven labelled bundles comprising the manuscript of Theodore Dreiser's "Notes on Life" reached the University of Pennsylvania Library in the autumn of 1952. During the ensuing year, Neda Westlake prepared a commentary on this "vitally important manuscript" in which she recorded, for readers of *The Library Chronicle*, an account of its scope and merits. Interest in it flared, then lagged. A manuscript of several thousand pages cannot be translated into page proofs in a short time. The edition the present writer has worked on, as Marguerite Tjader's coeditor, has been several years in preparation. Its publication will be, indeed, an event.

Dreiser's four score and seven packets take us into his workshop where we can at last behold the successive stages of the process through which he moulded crude materials into finished masterpieces. Like the mysterious, abruptly abandoned, sculptured figures found on Easter Island, which so fascinated Dreiser, the contents of his packets range all the way from the completed product, ready to be set in place, to pieces rough hewn, or no more than given in outline. Two-thirds of this material consists of excerpts from books and magazines, newspaper clippings, letters, and notations on conversations and interviews, portions of it collected for Dreiser by secretaries acting under his instruction but much of it dug out by Dreiser himself. The part remaining is the manuscript which Dreiser had begun to extricate from this vast store of data. There are mere memos, bulletins of perception, aphoristic flashes, striking exegetical surmises offered in assessment of some of the quoted material, and lengthy essays which suggest what the finished book was meant to be since usually they bring together in a cohesive, flowing statement the most essential and meaningful part of the materials found with them in the packets in which they have been stored. These are not in short supply. Dreiser had prepared above a score of them. Moreover, they are

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not bunched together in one part of the book. The outline of the book which Dreiser prepared when he packaged it lets us see that he had already drafted essays covering most of his major topics. He had placed his pilings strategically and sunk them deep. Stepping from one to another, the earnest inquirer can go the whole distance with Dreiser to the outermost reaches of his thought.

In a statement in the "Notes" which might serve as its epigraph, Dreiser says: "We are compelled to speculate—to synthesize what little data we can gather about the ultimately (or so it seems to man) impenetrable universe around us. . . . this compulsion to respond . . . is the only possible way of learning something about the universe and more—our Creator." Correlative to this affirmation is his further assertion: "Doubting and even denying are part of Intelligence's active rhythm of grasping and acquiescing." Thus we learn what his goals are and how he intends to pursue them. On his tours of inquiry in the Soviet Union, in Harlan County, Kentucky, and elsewhere, Dreiser's customary technique for eliciting information was a bullying approach, a method which had served him well as a newspaperman. When he decided to lay siege to the secrets of the universe he thought the same weapons adequate to his purpose. They proved to be so. Although the numerous topics which Dreiser examines in "Notes on Life" point to his desire to arrive at a statement of philosophical ultimates—at least in the sense of offering finally his own assessment of the phenomenon of existence—the insights he gained by spurning the role of complacent listener, while they pointed to unsuspected and unfathomable complexities beyond themselves, seemed to him an adequate reward. The result is a work which forces no conclusions on the reader, but challenges and stimulates him, drawing him inevitably into the work of questing fuller understanding of the universe and his place in it.

The plan of organization of "Notes on Life" was changed repeatedly by Dreiser. Many topics had only been sketchily developed. Grist for contemplated essays was left unassimilated; some of it, filed by Helen Dreiser and occasional secretaries, found its way into the wrong packets. Much of it, when it came to selecting the materials that would go into the final essays, Dreiser expected to dispense with altogether. Even the essays which did evolve usually were transitional drafts which certainly would have received additional atten-



tion from Dreiser had he lived to complete his book. This is not altogether the calamity it might seem to be. The blend of fragments intermingling with developing essays offers to posterity a remarkable chance to share in the shaping of Dreiser's ideas—in the creative process as he experienced it. As when we peruse the notebooks of Leonardo, the sketchbooks of Turner, the journals of Hawthorne and Emerson, "Notes on Life" takes us into the act of creation, makes us privy to the most intimate phases of the artist's maturation and fruition. Seen from this point of view Dreiser's "Notes" are not the chaotic jumble, the inchoate and confused assortment of jottings, the unprepared investigator might suppose them to be. They become, instead, a mammoth storehouse containing substantial and unique objects of virtu which need only to be catalogued and placed in a proper setting to be appreciated.<sup>1</sup>

The findings of science usually provide Dreiser his points of departure in "Notes on Life." Dreiser believed that science, by dissolving illusions and putting the operation of life on its proper chemical and physical base, became "the door to immense forces which cause the process of evolution to continue." In December 1935, after a strenuous visit to the General Electric laboratory in Schenectady, during which, William Swanberg records, he put surprisingly profound questions to scientists there,<sup>2</sup> Dreiser accounted for the visit in a letter to Sherwood Anderson, saying: "What I am really doing is seeking to interpret this business of life to myself. My thought is, if I ever get it reasonably straight for myself I will feel more comfortable."<sup>3</sup> The visit merely confirmed for Dreiser a view he had come to in 1928, after talking with scientists at the Woods Hole Biological Laboratory: "They are all mechanists & in so far as life is concerned hopeless."<sup>4</sup>

Dreiser aspired to keep abreast of the best that was said and thought in the area of the general physical sciences in his era, and sought constantly a place of accommodation for both scientist and mystic, yet he himself was a natural mystic and winnowed the data of science only to supply himself provender for his philosophical quests. The expectations of many to the contrary, reaching original scientific insights was no part of the program which Dreiser laid out for himself when he conceived of the idea of "Notes on Life." They are not lacking but are incidental to his purpose. "Notes on Life" is Dreiser's

Wonder Book. The facts of science are to him merely a mulch for his perceptions, a fuel which propels him out into the universe. He agreed with Thoreau: "Let us not underrate the value of a fact; it will one day flower in a truth."<sup>5</sup> He will not let himself become mired in facts. He is not afraid to challenge the scientist on his own ground: "We are told that suns can only be formed by condensation—rushing together of clouds of star dust or atoms such as constitute the immense nebulae here and there in space. But if this is so how comes it to be the companion of a bright and hot sun such as *Epsilon Aurigae* which supposedly was in existence long before it was?" Yet Dreiser's true concern lies elsewhere. Not the disclosures of science but the things these disclosures suggest to Dreiser—the radiant thrusts into stygian darkness, the poetic soarings, the splendid bulletins of knowing—these are the forces which give "Notes on Life" its epiphanies.

In cold facts, science can outdistance Dreiser without strain; it cannot surpass his capacity for wonder. Perhaps Shakespeare did not know that Bohemia was without a seacoast. Maybe Keats did believe Cortez discovered the Pacific. Inexactness does not diminish their love of truth. Nor does it diminish Dreiser's. Consider how eloquently he digresses poetically from scientific fact: "The sun shining on a decaying log all day will frequently store itself in the dessicated wood, leaving an after-glow visible throughout the greater part of the night. This is a physical process not unakin to the mechanism called memory in man. The glow left by the heat is the log's memory of the sun." Whoever would quibble with Dreiser here, in the name of science, impoverishes his own spirit.

"Though a formal philosopher would have found his thinking confused," says William Swanberg of Dreiser, "it was never shallow."<sup>6</sup> In the areas of thought into which Dreiser ventured, few thinkers escape befuddlement. Let a selection of his questions, just as he asks them, tell their own story: "What is the nature of energy?"; "What accounts for the liberal distribution of matter in space?"; "What is an island universe but an accretion of atoms?"; "What compels compulsion?"; "Is it the duty of energy to build and then *repeat* the things that it builds?"; "Is electricity sensitive and so mental?"; "Why is light in such a hurry?"; "Is the underlying attraction of the elements to one another emotional?"; "Doesn't mechanism imply something that is not mechanical—the other half of something we call mechanical but

out of which mechanism comes?" Thus the poet addresses science. And, now, philosophy: "Does anyone on earth deserve constant happiness?"; "What is the why of life?"; "They are always looking for the soul of man. Why not instead the soul of life—Nature? For what is a 'soul' but life itself—a fragment of God?"; "Is an ideal any the worse for being unrealizable?" A theological symposium could find its agenda here.

The "Protean shifting"—a relentless flux—which Dreiser found in Nature, fascinated him, just as it fascinated Heraclitus. It was a rhythm seemingly necessary to the process of creation, and for man to make a closer approach to that process it had to be understood. Henry Beston had been content to call it "that eternal change in nature which rules out stagnancy."<sup>7</sup> Dreiser had to get at it down avenues which converged on it as spokes do on a hub. Whatever his theme in "Notes on Life"—Chance, Time, Force, Religion, Death—the flow of life becomes part of its context, a thing essential to a fuller understanding of it. We are told: "The old doctrine of tooth and claw is not complete. There seems to be and is a constant struggle—no equilibrium is lasting. But the image is also one of Life constantly flowing into new forms. The forms may wage war or arrange an armistice. But Life does not make war against itself. It makes life—builds it, and contest appears to be one of its necessary processes." And again: "There must be variety in order to have contrast and color—also contest and change in order that there be interest—also death in order that there may be new life—progress." He concludes that "The supreme miracle of creation is, for man, the thrill of expanding life."

Even mechanism itself emerges as a manifestation of this process: "The word mechanistic . . . is of course nothing more than a very crude and inadequate attempt to emphasize the idea of regularity or motion as well as of form, in connection with all the forms and motions we call life. . . ." What lies behind it? His major statement, "The Salve Called Religion" comes to this painstakingly wrought conclusion: "Is it necessary that an ant should evolve to a greater comprehending ant? Or a fly? Possibly. But not necessarily. For, may it not be, that it is all no more than a revolving process of change for the Creative forces and the things created—so that the created may ever respond or react to and even, betimes, behold some phases of the



Creative—or, if you like, its Creator! And the *Creative* or *Creator* in their or its or His turn, if you like, behold the things which they, it or He have created—forever and ever? Why not? Why more? What more?”

Dreiser always had the song of creation in his ears—“The never absent rhythm of the universe which at long last makes a song, poem, art form out of everything.” His belief that change, contrast, and repetition are laws of the universe is imaged in his thought processes. His was a contrapuntal mind. He liked to touch familiar chords. They gave their pulsations to “Notes on Life.” And he was as responsive to the new as to the familiar. His interest in innovation was, as well, custodial. “Perhaps,” he explains, “it is one reason why human nature seems inconsistent to us that we fail to take into account the dynamic and non-static force of personality.” To Dreiser, irrevocable commitments scoffed at the scheme of the universe.

Man’s instinctive, unashamed readiness to sponsor change seemed to Dreiser so certain, so sublime, he felt pressed to account for it, as though to assert his own right to go on with his questing: “The push toward—by some it is described as the striving for—rational conceptions or comprehensions of anything and everything on the part of man is thought to be one of his noblest attributes. If anything, it is a noble attribute of the forces that bring him into being and maintain him there. What else has—what else could evoke such ‘*striving*’?”

Dreiser’s autobiographical volumes—*Dawn* and *A Book About Myself*—are an astonishing record of his ability to put aside personal vanity. Had he been unable to dismiss self-consciousness he could have attained few of the distinctions that are the warranty of the greatness of his work, for few writers ever have so nakedly recorded their development, as Dreiser did, through eight novels. Each states just where he stood at a given time in his life, yet without intrusion of self. Dreiser’s shock at life was and remained that of an adolescent, of one who has had his dreams newly shattered. He never became inured to life’s shortcomings. Yet in his sense of the immediacy of all things happening, the consequence of self was never crucial. This humility was given scope by his understanding of man’s role in nature.

In “The Myth of the Creative Mind” he chortles when he recalls that man once dubbed himself “Lord of Creation.” “Man,” he says, “is an evolved . . . mechanism—mayhap even an invention. . . .” He



is “automatically operated by nature.” His alleged accomplishments are an illusion: “All that man has ‘discovered’ or ‘invented’ . . . was worked out ages before man arrived. . . . The greatest mind is nothing more than a mechanistically directed implement—its ‘vanity,’ if anything, a chemical energizer, intended to make it go or work.” His thrusts at society are devastating: “Custom and usage relieves so many from any direct or clear contemplation of the cruelty or folly or meaninglessness, even, of the things that they do.”

Dreiser lays the flail to human weaknesses and pride to break down our presumptions. While he stresses man’s humble place in the universal order, he is seeking not to grind humanity’s face into the mire but to awaken gratitude in man for the part in creation which he has been assigned. If he tears men down as individuals, he builds them up as part of matter-energy. “Strangely enough,” he says, “man occupies in such a mighty universe, a place of singular interest and honor. For he is the biological, *the living being*, on the surface of a tiny planet, capable of exploring the tremendous universe around him.” This conviction does much to explain Dreiser’s own zestful interest in creation in all its manifestations. In “The Dream of Childhood” he describes his own glad responsiveness to the elemental forces of the universe: “Those were the days of the morning sky and the heavenly winds, those were hours of the multitudinous voices which call and call, filling the open mind and the fresh heart with evidences and the feelings of beauty and delight.” His overwhelming curiosity about the scheme of things in nature encompassed everything from galaxies to grasshoppers. He shows a child’s delight in the nearly sacerdotal maternity rituals of the platypus. His long discourse, in “My Creator,” on the avocado tree is an open invitation to us to witness the simple processes of nature and be instructed by them. He preaches the mutual interdependence of all created things. To know nature, even in its humblest aspects, is to advance in understanding. Even a cheese mite can enlighten us.

Dreiser’s love of nature could bring him to a fever pitch. “Think of nature,” he exhorts us, “the endless processes by which all these [the legacies of earlier generations] came to be, and ourselves, and the earth we stand on, and the sun above us, and the sky and the stars, the animals, the birds, the trees, fishes, flowers which we never made, yet we ever use, so often without tending or serving. If we live, and share

our health, and the least of means to support ourselves, are we truly poor? And if not, are we grateful?" If a kind of religious fervor seems latent in this appeal we should not suppose that Dreiser would have repudiated it had it been brought to his attention. Religion which accepted the harmonies of nature was acceptable to him. He protests: "Where religion has not conformed to natural law it has worked only harm." But on these terms he withdraws his objections: "In all times and in all places religion must be entirely freed of ulterior and extraneous aims. . . . At its farthest reach it should do no more than to interpret those laws of nature, its quite mystic weights and measures, which, accurately interpreted, lead to balance and proportion in life, and so to a measure of peace and happiness for all." In the light of further revelations this assertion is better understood: "Materially and energetically in so far as nature is concerned, there is a God—and all the forms of nature are his or its ways or forms." And again: "If a God informs nature certainly a portion of Him informs man."

Throughout much of "Notes on Life" Dreiser is intent on demonstrating the presence of a controlling intellect behind creation. "My conception of God," he says, "is that force which controls the cosmos. . . ." The variety of terms he uses in his efforts to arrive at some understanding of the nature of this controlling force attests both to his earnestness and his persistence. "Primal essence," "the creative impulse," "Matter-Energy," "Universal-Energy," a universal mind," "the ultimate energy," "the ultimate quiescent force," "the superforce," "the Creative Force," "a surveying and controlling intelligence," are some of the terms used. Or simply: "Life," "Evolution," "Nature," "Creator," or "God." He speaks of "that totality we name Creation or Nature or Evolution or God." He says: "Call Life—God or call God—Life. Either way, it is the same."

Dreiser is emphatic about the primacy of this Creative Force in all things. It is all-knowing, all-just, all-present, and everlasting—"a stupendous mentality, solitary and eternal." He states: "The nature of God, or the Creative Force that appears to operate directly through matter-energy as well as the laws and spatial conditions environing the same, is, in fact, the only reality. . . ." Awed by nature's practice of repeating ideas from generation to generation, Dreiser says: "Such a process as this implies immense order as against disorder or chaos and more '*mind*' than man ever dreamed of." Design,

indeed, became for him the great, compelling, irrefutable argument supporting the existence of this Creative Force.

In "My Creator" he is all but overwhelmed by the realization that everything in creation is "considerately devised and equipped for the task to which it is called." "Design," he says, "is the great treasure that nature or the Creative Force has to offer to man and through which it seems to emphasize its own genius and to offer the knowledge of the same, to man."

Man's role in creation, Dreiser believed, was entirely subordinate to the Creative Force. All minds are mechanistically directed. The Creative Force—not accident—operates through us. Yet man's part is an essential one. In "The Myth of Individuality," Dreiser says: "Man is not living, but is being lived by something which needs not only him but billions like him in order to express itself." He continues: "I hold that life as we see or sense it with our several senses . . . is no more than a mechanism through which something that is not a mechanism but that can, at will—embody or disembody itself mechanistically—expresses itself and that we, along with all things so embodied or expressed, are an integral fraction of that primal essence." He is humble about his own inquiries, yet implies that these too serve the needs of the Creative Force. Of the "few" who take interest in "the progress of the race," he suggests "their seeming interest may be nothing more than the shadow of the real interest of the Creative Force itself which is using them as mechanisms for the achievement of peculiar and special experiences of its own." He concludes: "Complete knowledge of the nature and functional processes of the Creative Force could only be *granted* to any creature or mechanism such as man. . . . Certainly such knowledge is not to be thought of as existing *in* or to be independently achieved by the toy or mechanism or creature of said primal creative force. . . . Knowledge less than the totality of Creative wisdom could not seemingly exist outside of itself and operate as independently as the primal energy man contemplates here appears to do."

He understands that he, unlike the Creative Force, possesses finite limitations. But the very inexhaustibleness of the quest for further knowledge of the infinite constitutes for him one of the principal appeals of the quest. He is not so disturbed by what he has yet to know, or what he can never know, as to be unable to rejoice in what he has



come to know or to take stimulation in anticipating coming to know more by pressing on with his inquiries. To have any part at all in this incredible drama gratifies Dreiser: "We speak of God or Nature or the Creative Force. And at times we fear, and respect, and obey, and, even where we are not always motivated, as most often we are, *love*. For we are of It and Its tools. Its mirror. And Narcissus-like, It appears to survey and admire and enjoy Itself through Its self-made mirrors." His willingness to relate to the Creative Force to this extent is made plain by the concluding words of "My Creator": "My import to this, my Creator, can be but as nothing, or less, if that were possible. Yet awe I have. And, at long last, profound reverence for so amazing and esthetic and wondrous a process that may truly have been, and for all that I know, may yet continue to be forever and forever. An esthetic and wondrous process of which I might pray—and do—to remain the infinitesimal part of that same that I now am."

Love of life is everywhere apparent in "Notes on Life," rising to a love of the cosmos itself, and Dreiser's own sense of unity with it. His superb élan, his passionate joy for existence, suffuses every theme, until the "Notes" become a veritable fifth gospel—tidings of great joy ("Joy must be innate in energy itself"), making out a glorious case for the universe. Here is that reverence for life which we associate with Woolman, Schweitzer, St. Exupéry, and Beston, confirmed by awe of beauty and a sustained sense of wonder. Dreiser speculated that if man instantly could become "a perfected mechanism," then "the amazing spectacle of the Universe could be dispensed with and man would become the equivalent of the Creative Force—no need to do anything but *be* in its essential immateriality." Yet he did not think himself deprived because that miracle was not to be. "Man," he conceded, "has ample reason for feeling that he is looked after by nature as a whole. . . ." Recalling that Cardinal Newman had said: "It is not natural for the human heart to love God," Dreiser insisted that if we cannot love the Creative Force, we are obliged, at least, "to respect the validity and the social and 'moral' value of the universal balancing." A wise and just power presided over creation and acted "with good intent toward all things."

"Notes on Life" emphatically denies that life is a cruel, brutal procedure. All is explained in terms of a requisite contrast or balancing. Dreiser's disquisition on "Mercy and Cruelty" is better than some



theological tracts on the subject—reconciling his readers to the wisdom of nature or the Creative Force. Death is confronted with the same, tranquil acceptance. “Death,” says Dreiser, “. . . the most valuable thing we have—for without it—no life.” Knowledge of the universe was for Dreiser peace-giving—the path to serenity.

“Notes on Life” offers to the historian of ideas an intellectual field day. It is the perfect companion for those who will not accept ready-made answers but must do their own searching. Dreiser inspires always, insists never. For those especially who cannot accept orthodox views, but must do their own searching, “Notes on Life” is tremendously stimulating, shattering complacency and awakening awed respect for the power behind the universe. We may not agree with his findings, yet his perspicuity stirs our admiration.

“Notes on Life” compels new respect for Dreiser’s achievement at the intellectual level. We find him to be both profound and prescient. The modernity of many of his interests entitles him to the rank of soothsayer extraordinary. His blending of science, philosophy, and Scripture too, audacious then, is commended now by our foremost inquirers. He deplored the abuse of our environment and pleaded for ecological reforms. He foretold our dependency on the sea. He depicted the decline of the railroads, and an era in which taped materials would supplant books. He expressed a scientific interest in charisma, extrasensory perceptions, and hallucinogens. He forecast the age of the computer, and nuclear medicine. His interest in cosmic rays anticipated the great place science now assigns to them. He laid bare, with a sharp blade, festering social disorders, and warned of the evils inherent in modern warfare, and in the growing authority and pervasiveness of science. Woman’s Liberation was long ago his cause. He was the New Left when its membership was one. He pursued an enlightened nonconformity. Even after he joined the Communist Party he averred that he intended to speak his mind as he always had. “If the Party doesn’t like it,” he told Robert H. Elias, “it can throw me out.”<sup>8</sup>

What Lionel Trilling has spoken of as “the buzz of implication” murmurs over every page of “Notes on Life.” It is an earnest of the integrity of Dreiser’s need to pursue knowledge. How he anguishes to get at the facts! Mind: “You are moving amidst a universe of solidified or partly solidified matter-energy forms. And they are the

result of primal energy materialized. When we register their materializations we call the process thinking.” Wisdom: “That force in the nucleus of the atom which is greater than the repelling force between the protons of the atoms which circle around its nucleus and which causes them to fly apart, and of itself is capable of holding them together . . . is this a force with wisdom, or merely a conditioned force incapable of doing other than it does? If this latter, then there is no such thing as individual knowledge anywhere—not in any earthly creature or species, or element, or in any combination of elements and therefore not in the universe itself.” Beauty: “[Beauty] is a great force expressed as sound, color, forms, but most of all as combinations of these that address all the substances of the body as these in their turn and in the combination called *you* respond to them. United as beauty they are your reward for living and struggling as well as your comforter, the one thing that, amid the seemingly unescapable ills of life, sustains you. Whether they are the sum or only a portion of the forces that create or make possible your being, they are your reason for being, the things for which you pray and with which, if at all, you are rewarded.”

Dreiser can, with impunity, move back and forth between reputable and nonreputable authorities, e.g., Jacques Loeb and Charles Fort. That he is not tainted by charlatans puts us on notice concerning the peculiar auspices under which he works. The amateur who, like his early mentor, Herbert Spencer, goes without formal education into the arena of his inquiries, he raises himself to the role of respectable observer by subjecting a vast array of knowledge to an exacting, contentious scrutiny. In keeping with this discipline, “Notes on Life” is free of personal harangues, special pleadings, partisan political and social aims. It shows the loftier, less vulnerable Dreiser of the later, crucial years, gone to his Olympian ambushade, where, remote from the local contests of his era (which he so loved in his other identities), he could concern himself with problems transcending time and place.

As befits a philosopher who spurns the purlieus of the present to brood on intangible ultimates, Dreiser’s in-person appearances in the pages of “Notes on Life” are infrequent. In one wistful passage, intimate and evocative, we encounter him, posed upon a seawall, hand extended above the water, perplexed that the torrent of minnows in

the brine below should flee in terror of his shadow. A statement pencilled by Dreiser in the last months of his life—after an encounter with wary blackbirds, in his garden—discusses man as “a creation and symbol of” wildness in nature. Yet with these few passages we do not part company with Dreiser as a persona in the “Notes.” His presence is everywhere felt. We are conscious always of the intensity of his feelings, his insatiable curiosity, joy of being, childlike eagerness, resoluteness—as seen in his desire to approach knowledge, his capacity for growth, dedication to truth, poetic responsiveness to the universe, his esthetic awareness, capacity to appreciate, awe, sense of wonder, alignment with the elemental forces of the universe, his attempts to live his beliefs, his dedication to mankind, his broad, looming compassion.

The importance of “Notes on Life” as a source shedding light on Dreiser’s literary productions—a matter of paramount importance—almost beggars description. The recurrent themes of his fiction—e.g., the flux of life, man as cosmic waif, transcendental awareness, transiency, the ameliorative retreat to nature, the lockstep of foolish consistencies, the magic of cities, eye magnetism, home and hearthside—find frequent and incisive mention, and often gain in lucidity from elucidations wanting in the novels either because they were not appropriate there or because Dreiser himself had not then come to a comprehensive understanding of them. The essay on “Transmutation of Personality” is the most explicit statement on George Hurstwood’s transformation through chemisms to be found anywhere in Dreiser’s works. Moreover, Dreiser here fits chemic compulsions into a much larger scheme than he gives any hint of in *Sister Carrie*. With the aid of perceptions supplied here, the common destiny of Hurstwood and Clyde Griffiths can be traced even by readers unresponsive to the socioeconomic themes which yoke *Sister Carrie* in tandem with *An American Tragedy*.

The questions Dreiser raises, their imaginative stir, his eagerness, his passionate concern, expressed at perfervid poetic level, give “Notes on Life” literary value in its own right. Sometimes a brief phrase, e.g., “the environing energies of life,” will bring poetry to a paragraph. But Dreiser’s incandescence more often flows into the whole of his thought. He tells us: “The world of imagination is the world of eternity. Generations come and go. And the deeds of the



same—multitudinous and confusing. But the other taps the rank growth and decaying mulch of endless time and endless worlds. It blooms on high—a gorgeous bloom tinted with reflected hues and moods to which this world approaches and of which it knows, only through it.”

In a passage which recalls Whitman’s use of catalogues, and Fitzgerald’s lists of names, he masses nouns and verbs with startling effect: “All that we call living things—the protoplasmic family, like the natural energies, light, heat, and derivatives of the same, out of which they spring, are insistent, urgent, all too frequently savage in their seeming lust to grow, be, express themselves. They either crowd and struggle like weeds, trees, fish, herds, flocks, or they bite, sting, rip, and devour like the creatures of the jungles, or like men in war. Be it no more than a bacillus, so greatly feared by man, an alga, a harebell, a gnat, or a flea—to say nothing of these others, the bacilli and viruses, they present the fact of struggle for existence and more self-expression—to grow, flutter leaves, as a tree, walk, run, spin as a spider, play, dance, gleam under the sun—the while they defend their seeming *right* so to do.” There is no need to delay longer over individual passages. Aided by his literary talent and vast imagination, Theodore Dreiser, in “Notes on Life,” gives poetic meaning to the entire universe.

## NOTES

1. Because of several reorganizations and the absence of pagination, no footnotes can be provided for “Notes on Life.”
2. W. A. Swanberg, *Dreiser* (New York, 1965), p. 435.
3. *Letters of Theodore Dreiser*, ed. Robert H. Elias (Philadelphia, 1959), III, 761. The letter from Dreiser to Anderson is dated January 2, 1936.
4. *Letters*, II, 469–70. The letter from Dreiser to Franklin and Beatrice Booth is dated July 7, 1928. It was sent from Woods Hole.
5. *The Writings of Thoreau*, “The Natural History of Massachusetts” (Boston, 1893), IX, 160.
6. Swanberg, p. 460.
7. Henry Beston, *Northern Farm* (New York, 1948), p. 101.
8. Robert H. Elias quoted Dreiser to the author in these words. Cf. Elias, *Theodore Dreiser: Apostle of Nature* (New York, 1949), p. 306. Dreiser made this statement to Elias on September 10, 1945.



# Medical Diary Reveals First Dreiser Visit to the University of Pennsylvania

RICHARD W. DOWELL\*

BY THE WAY," Theodore Dreiser wrote H. L. Mencken on April 2, 1942, "the University of Pennsylvania is taking over my stuff, lock, stock & barrel. Trunks & boxes of material are leaving here every few days. . . . They say they're going to devote a fine large fireproof room to the whole business" (*Letters of Theodore Dreiser*, ed. Robert H. Elias, III, 956). Thus began a flood of books, manuscripts, letters, notes, clippings, and various memorabilia which would ultimately make the University of Pennsylvania the undisputed center of Dreiser studies. Dreiser selected the University of Pennsylvania because of its emphasis on American literature and its freedom from the religious and political dogmas that he had fought much of his lifetime; however, as he reviewed his career in the process of collecting and shipping his literary estate, memories of a visit to the University of Pennsylvania in 1903 might well have returned—memories not so pleasant in themselves but ones which should have made the task at hand most satisfying and the future repository of that estate seem very appropriate.

Ironically, however, the document containing an account of that 1903 visit—perhaps the only account—is not a part of the University of Pennsylvania's Dreiseriana. Rather, it was recently donated to Indiana University's Lilly Library by David A. Randall, curator of the Lilly collection. This document is a handwritten 170-page medical diary (6 x 8") which Dreiser kept from October 22, 1902, until February 17, 1903, when it breaks off in mid-sentence. At the time of the writing, Dreiser was suffering from neurasthenia and had settled briefly in Philadelphia, where he hoped to regain his health. When he arrived in July 1902, Dreiser was debilitated physically and emotionally. For seven months, he had been travelling restlessly through the South in an attempt to continue his literary career and at the same time overcome the nervous condition that had set in soon after the

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failure of *Sister Carrie*. The South, however, had not proven to be the answer; thus, surrendering to the inevitable, he came north to Philadelphia, where he took a room at 3225 Ridge Avenue and put himself under the care of a Dr. Duhring. It was his hope that during this period of convalescence he would be able to make progress on his second novel, *Jennie Gerhardt*, and write enough magazine articles to support his wife and himself. For six months he struggled fitfully with his writing; then, in mid-January, he abandoned all creative projects and restricted his writing to the medical diary he was keeping at the request of Dr. Duhring. This cessation of literary activities, however, served only to increase the tension and financial pressures, as is reflected in a diary entry of February 13, 1903: "... sickness and poverty are horrible things. Profess as I may and draw myself up to the full stature of my courage there is nothing but sorrow for me in thinking of what I might have [—] the beauty, the comfort, the affection of the world."

The visit to the University of Pennsylvania came at this low emotional and economic ebb. On February 3, he had written despondently: "Today like some money [i.e., so many] others spent in the idleness which I despise and deplore. I have no money, or very little left. I am alone. I am homesick. All the courage I have seems to have gone out of me and I sit in my chair brooding." His funds, he calculated in that same entry, would soon be reduced to less than five dollars. On February 5, he recorded his decision to go downtown and ask Dr. Duhring to continue the treatments on credit, but once there he could not bring himself to make the shameful request. On February 7, he made his first visit to the University of Pennsylvania to seek the free medical attention he heard was being offered at the dispensary, but again the shame of his situation paralyzed him. In the diary entry for that day, he recalled approaching the door, feeling embarrassment and retreating, then returning to encounter a Negro window washer whose gainful employment again shamed Dreiser into a hasty retreat. To regain his composure, he walked about the campus, visiting a new dormitory and then the Museum of Science and Art. When he returned to the dispensary, it was closed for the weekend.

The following Monday he had but sixty-two cents remaining. Again he went to see Dr. Duhring and this time confessed his pov-

erty. Credit, however, was so grudgingly offered that Dreiser felt obliged to return to the dispensary at the University of Pennsylvania for charity treatment of an irritated left eye; but by the time he had walked to the campus, the dispensary had closed for the day. The next day, February 10, Dreiser resolutely returned and, despite his humiliation, asked for treatment. He was given an examination and a prescription, which he tried to have filled at the dispensary drug counter; but upon discovering that the clerk was going to charge him for the medicine, he withdrew the order. On that day, when he left the campus with fifteen cents in his pocket, Dreiser could hardly have dreamed that he would someday be one of that university's greatest assets.

Besides this account of Dreiser's earliest association with the University of Pennsylvania, the diary contains much that would interest Dreiser scholars. In its earliest stages, it is first and foremost a day-by-day account of his struggle to overcome his neurasthenic condition. Dutifully he recorded his symptoms, sleeping habits, variations in appetite, responses to medication, and attempts at therapy. But as the diary progressed, it became increasingly an opportunity for Dreiser to pour out his frustrations as a writer, husband, and human being.

Those critics interested in the creation of *Jennie Gerhardt* will find value in the daily record of attempts to keep the novel going. Occasionally Dreiser would be able to work with some enthusiasm, but much more often the creative process "produced heat" or he found himself haunted by "a disturbing sense of error." Eventually he restricted himself to short stories and articles in the hope that the shorter pieces would be less taxing, but they too demanded more concentration than he was at that time capable of. At length he was forced to suspend his creative activities completely. On February 14, he lamented: "I was not thinking of writing on my story [*Jennie Gerhardt*] or doing an article although I feel as though I ought to. I have need of money, heaven knows[,] and yet I feel as if I cannot write. Lucidity of expression and consecutiveness of ideas is what is bothering me. I cannot write continuously. I lose the thread and forget."

Dreiser's ambivalent feelings toward his wife are also revealed by the daily entries. On the one hand, he was clearly dependent on her for aid and comfort. He noted her rubbing his chest, bathing his head, reading him to sleep, and correcting his manuscripts. For a few



of the diary entries she apparently acted as his amanuensis. Yet, there is also evidence that he avoided, even feared, her company. He took his therapeutic walks around Philadelphia alone, and despite Mrs. Dreiser's presence in the apartment, he frequently complained of loneliness. On November 29, he recorded having written a poem on the subject of loneliness. In the entire diary there is no mention of a conversation with Mrs. Dreiser, though he regularly recreated his conversations with people he had encountered in restaurants and on the streets. Clearly he attempted to restrain himself sexually, having decided that overindulgence contributed to his deterioration. On November 12, Dreiser noted: "Found that my tendency to over indulge in thoughts concerning the sexual relation, as well as in the relation itself[,] has this painful result." And again on November 22: "I am not sure however that it is not purely mental exhaustion from past excesses both of sexual passion and mental labor." On other occasions he scolded himself for yielding to his sexual appetites and thereby further debilitating himself. Yet, despite this emotional withdrawal from Mrs. Dreiser, he described her departure for Missouri on January 26 as a great "loss." Eight days later he complained of homesickness, writing, "All the desire of my heart is centered on getting well, on getting my wife back, on having a home and yet, but why go on. All I can do apparently is to wait, but oh the weariness of it." By February 6, he had begun to make plans to follow his wife to Missouri. "So homesick I could have cried," he recorded starkly. As the journal clearly indicates, Dreiser's illness merely complicated his already conflicting attitudes toward his marital role.

His personal plight also sharpened his social awareness, as is evidenced by the work he attempted once his health forced him to abandon *Jennie Gerhardt*. On January 13, he indicated that he was at work on "an editorial concerning sympathy"; on February 9, he mentioned having collected material for two articles defending the Single Tax; and on February 12, he accepted \$10.00 from *Outlook* for an article titled "The Problem of Distribution." Also, the diary itself became an outlet for his social concerns. On February 14, for example, Dreiser recorded his distress at hearing a woman in a restaurant refer to the striking miners as "wretches" and attack Clarence Darrow for defending them:

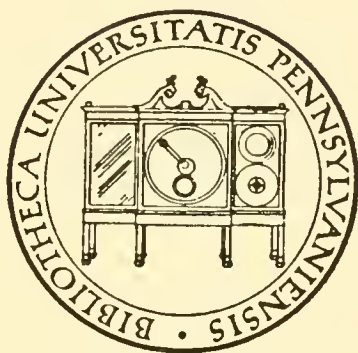


I do not know why, but this had a most depressing effect on me. Men, working men, a mass of any men desiring something and not being able to get it is always depressing to me. I feel so sorry for them. They seem so deserving of my pity. Poor, ignorant, leading grimy narrow lives—oh. I know how they fight and quarrel among themselves. I know too full well that they drink and carouse and are like other men. . . . Are they not like those men who oppress them. Is Morgan pure, is Baer clean. Have the[y] kinder hearts, noble souls, fine and beautiful lives. They have money and fine clothes and a pleasant atmosphere of comfort and refinement to move in, but some men ar[c] born to degradation and the fault is not theirs after all.

The next day Dreiser was again disturbed by the tragic fate of his fellow man, this time by reading Ida Tarbell's *Life of Lincoln*: "Lincoln's life moved me deeply as any such tragedy as that always moves me. Lincoln and Christ—somehow those two are naturally associated in my mind. They were both so kind, so tender, so true. Oh that we can all be great, noble and altogether lovely. It [is] not possible that any but a few should be so however—conspicuously so, perhaps." That night he was restless, brooding over the sadness of Lincoln's story. Certainly those critics who see a correlation between Dreiser's sympathies and his personal successes and failures will find the diary worth their perusal.

Dreiser has been praised for the courage and openness of his autobiographical assessments. This medical diary is another such assessment. He spares himself nothing in presenting an unrelieved drama of anguish and frustration, yet a drama that says a great deal about Dreiser the man and artist.

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# Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the University of Pennsylvania to 1800

## SUPPLEMENT A

Compiled by RUDOLF HIRSCH

## CORRIGENDA

**G**RATEFUL acknowledgement is made to the following, who have brought errors or further facts to the attention of the compiler: M. T. d'Alverney, G. Corti, N. R. Ker, P. O. Kristeller, E. Orvieto, G. R. Potter, A. Reichenberger, U. Winter. Minor points have not been included. Further corrections or additions to the *Catalogue* or the "Supplement" are invited and should be addressed to The Editor, Manuscript Catalogue, University of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19174 (USA).

1. The following are corrections to the *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the University of Pennsylvania to 1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965):

Preface, p.vi, line 29: *Canonice read Canonici*.

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Lat. 4, line 1 (p.2), entry to *read*: Heinrich von Langenstein (= Henricus de Hassia). *Addition* to note: On the question of authorship see E. Roth, "Zur Bibliographie des Henricus de Hassia," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Beiheft 2.

Lat. 7, line 2 of note (p.3): Lockhart *read* Lockwood.

Lat. 13, lines 4-5 (p.4) *read*: 3. Philo Judaeus. De incorruptione mundi (tr. probably by Lilius Tifernas).

Lat. 20, line 1 (p.5), correct to *read*: Bible. England, ca. 1300. *Addition* to note: the date of Thomas Coleman should *read* 1598-1647. - The pencilled marginalia are in an English hand.

Lat. 26, probably written not in Bohemia, but in Italy.

Lat. 36, lines 5-6 (p.8) *read*: 6. Heinrich von Langenstein (= Henricus de Hassia).

Lat. 40, footnote (p.9): Umbertus *read* Ubertus.

Lat. 42, line 4 (p.10): ff.147-57 *read* ff. 147-55. – *Add* as no. 4: Laurentius Cynthius (or Cyathus). De misericordia, ff. 156r-57v. This text dedicated to Jacopo Guicciardini.

Lat. 84, line 2 (p.18): 2. Hora es *read* Hora est.

Lat. 107, line 3 (p.24): ff.7-32 *read* ff.7-22.

Lat. 122, part 2 (pp.27-8) consists of three items: a. Petrus Johannes Olivi. De forma vite regularis fratrum minorum, ff.9v-10v. – b. De amissa virginitate (probably one of the Meditationes of St. Anselm), ff.8r-9r, 11r-12v.–c. St. Anselm. Lamentatio . . . contra animam peccatricem, ff.13v-15v.

Lat. 185, line 9, after [Straubing] *add*: See also E. Habel, "Johannes de Garlandia," in *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehungs- u. Schulgeschichte*, XIX (1909) and L. J. Pactow, *Morale scholarium* (Berkeley, 1927).

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Eng. 8, *addition* to note (p.50); binding by the "Virgin and Child Binder."

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Fr. 16, extend note to *read*: Text edited by J. L. Grigsby, *The Middle French Liber Fortunae* (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1967), Univ. of Calif. Publ. in Mod. Phil., v. 81.

Fr. 20, line 1 (p.57): Honoré Bonnet *read* Honoré Bonet.

Fr. 22, line 3 (p.58): 136 ff. *read* 126 ff.; line 4 *read* Franklin P. Sweetser.

Fr. 37 (p.60) and 67 (p.68): as noted in the footnote on p.61 (Ad. Fr. 37) the author is Johann Friedrich von Wolfframsdorf.

Fr. 41, correction of note (p.62), line 5: Les traductions de la Bible in vers *read* en vers.

Fr. 83, *addition* to note (p.70): One other copy of this text destroyed in the fire of the National Library, Turin. Fr. 83 is probably the only extant copy.

Fr. 90, line 5 (p.72): 1655-1678 *read* 1665-1678.

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Ger. 40, line 1 (p.86): Arndt identified as Gottfried August Arndt.

Ger. 54, *add* to note: Parts of this and the following ms. have been published by A. R. Schmitt, *Des Melchior Adam Pastorius . . . Leben . . .* (Munich, 1968).

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Ital. 93, line 3 (p.112): San Giovanni *read* Ser Giovanni; line 4: Sig. Nicholo *read* Ser Nicholo; lines 6-7: the name of the notary is Pietro Berni.

Ital. 103, line 1 (p.113): 15? *read* 16.

Ital. 164, line 1 (p.125): F.T.C. identified as Frater Thomas Camparella, O.P.

Ital. 194, *addition* to note (p.132): identical with Ital. 103.

Ital. 196, line 7 (p.133): Ferdinand II *read* Ferdinand I.

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Span. 20, line 5 (p. 139); omit question mark in date; note, line 2: *pastoreillos read* *pastorcillos*; *ibid.*, line 3: *piecas read* *piezas*.

Span. 21, line 5 (p.140): 1791 *read* 1792; MVCCCXX [1820] *read* MVCCCXII [1812].

Span. 32, line 4 (p.142): *endulto read* *indulto*; line 5: *yescojidos read* *y escojidos*.

Span. 33, line 3 (p.142): *varon read* *razon*; line 4: *Atu . . . ati read* *A tu . . . a ti*.

Span. 35, collation (p.143): 192 ff. *read* 194 ff.

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Lea 5, correct note (p.147) to *read*: From the libraries of Jacopo Soranzo, the Jesuit Father Matteo Canonici, and the Rev. Walter Sneyd.

Lea 30, *addition* to note (p.155): Deciphered text of coded sections shelved with ms.

Lea 60, *addition* to note (p.161): Prov.: Archivio Magherini Grazziani.

Lea 62, line 1 (p.161); *Guilelmus de Lavicia read* *Guilelmus de Lanicia*.

Lea 64, lines 6–7 (p.161): delete parenthesis; Castello is identified as Città di Castello; *add*: Prov.: Archivio Magherini Grazziani.

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E. F. Smith 20, note, lines 2–3 (p.237): Dr. Krug identified as Theodor Christoph Krug.

E. F. Smith 22, correct last sentence of note (p.237) to *read*: Possibly originally owned by John Winthrop, Jr. (1606–1676), cf. letter from Mass. Hist. Soc., 16 June, 1967.

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2. Corrections to “Supplement A” published in *The Library Chronicle*, volumes xxxv–xxxvii (1969–71/2):

Lat. 214, note, line 7 (xxxv, p.8) *read*: . . . ; the Lumen is not identical.

Lat. 225, line 2 (*ibid.*, p.11): *condizione read* *conduzione*; line 4: *lo messe read* *le messe*; lines 4–5 *read*: . . . , notarized by Michael olim Juliani Michaelis de Gheraduccis de Vulterris. Volterra, 1490.

Lat. 226, line 2 (*ibid.*, p.11) delete [?] to *read*: Galuccio Trevisano Volpe, son of Messer Galvano.

Lat. 242, line 2 (*ibid.*, p.17): *Pamphilius read* *Pamphilus*.

Lat. 257, line 7 (xxxvii, p.109): Bratislawa (Pressburg) *read* Breslau (Wrocław).

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- Lea 446 (xxxvi, pp.30-31) nos. 11-12 to *read*: Giovanni [?] Piccolomini appointed "tutor" of Jacopo Fey; *ibid.*, 1351. —. 12 Carolus Blasii Piccolomini. Lawsuit against the heirs . . . , (to correct misprint sacopo for Jacopo and Law-Juit for law-suit at beginning of lines 11-12).
- Lea 455 (*ibid.*, p.36), line 4: Andre *read* Andree.
- Lea 459 (*ibid.*, pp.82-83), note: 16th-cent. bds. *read* 18th-cent. bds.
- Lea 467 (*ibid.*, p.87), line 5, *read*: della nave. . . .
- Lea 506 (*ibid.*, p.102), line 2: [Saurez] *read* [Suarez].
- Lea 571 (xxxvii, p.95), line 1: Leonora Concini Risaliti *read* Eleanora Concini, Marquesa del Monte.

## INDEX

THE index contains names of authors, scribes, owners, and donors; names of persons referred to in the text; authors of references used in descriptions; names of places and countries when used as entries or termed important as a guide to the contents; titles; and a few selected subjects. No attempt, however, has been made to provide a subject index.

An asterisk (\*) attached to names indicates that individual members of a family were not listed separately; to do so in these instances was economically not practicable (e.g., Gondi\* or Medici\*).

The supplement contains a small section of addenda (Vol. xxxvii, pp. 107-115). Users of the index should turn to this section for the following manuscripts: Lat. 251-259; Eng. 36-37; Fr. 137-141; Ger. 74-76; Ital. 254-256; Span. 55.

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# Jacob Leupold and His *Theatrum Machinarum*

EVALD RINK\*

JACOB LEUPOLD's *Theatrum machinarum* (Showplace of Machinery), a multivolume compendium of technology, illustrated with a large number of plates, has again begun to attract attention, this time from the historians of technology. This work enjoyed wide popularity during the eighteenth century. As a source of useful information for machine builders and mechanics, its equal could not then be found in German or in other languages, according to Joachim Ernst Scheffler, the author of the supplement to Leupold's work.<sup>1</sup>

Although the *Theatrum machinarum* was reprinted during the eighteenth century at least once, complete sets of the work are scarce today.† The whole work consists of eleven folio volumes. The first volume, entitled *Theatrum machinarum generale*, appeared in 1724, and the others followed in surprisingly rapid succession, two volumes a year, one at the Leipzig Easter fair and the other at Saint Michael's fair in September. It is a testimony to the diligence of both the author and his printer, Christoph Zunkel, that they were able to follow this tight schedule. Leupold was able to complete only eight volumes, and the last of these, the *Theatrum arithmetico-geometricum*, was actually published a few months after his death in 1727. The supplement, and the other additional volumes on mills, compiled in succession by Beyer, Scheffler, and Weinhold, appeared several years later.

In a systematic way, Leupold's *Theatrum machinarum* and its supplementary volumes provide a general view of the state of the art in machine design and machine building around 1725. It is also a survey of the technical literature available at that time. The work was designed to make available to artisans and craftsmen the information they needed to construct and use the machines and instruments of the period. Leupold stressed the need for simplicity and workability in

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† As a result of a cooperative effort between the Swarthmore College Library and the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library at Greenville, Delaware, all volumes of the *Theatrum machinarum* were microfilmed in 1971. The microfilm, supplemented by an introductory essay and indexes, will be available for purchase from the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, Greenville, Delaware.

machine design, and suspected machines which seemed new and glamorous, but had not proved their practical value.

The wealth of detail and practical hints indicates that Leupold was not a simple compiler and copier from the works of others, but that he had personal experience with most of the instruments and machines he described, and that he understood the scientific principles on which these were based. He did not write his work for scholars. He believed that they would either already know about these things or would be able to gather the information from published sources. Leupold addressed himself rather to artisans and mechanics who did not have access to such knowledge because they lacked scientific training or had no facility in foreign languages.

As a member of scientific societies, Leupold was able to select from scientific reports of the period those topics that were most appropriate for the practical mechanic. That he wrote in colloquial German, interspersed with Latin terms (which he always explained in German), emphasizes his position as a mediator between the scholars and the artisans. He was well aware of the role the mechanics of the time had to perform, as he wrote in the introduction to the *Theatrum machinarum generale*:

. . . a mechanic . . . ought to be a person who not only understands well and thoroughly all handicrafts, such as wood, steel, iron, brass, silver, gold, glass, and all such materials to be treated according to the arts, and who knows how to judge on physical principles, how far each according to its nature and property is adequate or suitable to withstand and endure this or that, so that everything receives its necessary proportion, strength, and convenience, and neither too much nor too little is done in the matter. . . . And when he desires thoroughly to understand his profession, he must have a complete grasp of all the arts and professions for which he will have to make and invent machines; for otherwise he knows not what he is doing, and has also no power to improve anything, or invent anything new, such as is chiefly demanded of a mechanic. But above all he has to be a born mechanic, so that he shall not only be skilled in invention by natural instinct, but shall also grasp with little trouble all arts and sciences, in such a way that it may be said of him: what his eyes see, that also are his hands able to do; and that love of his art lets him avoid no trouble, labour, or cost, because throughout his whole life he has daily to learn something new and to experiment.<sup>2</sup>

Leupold's emphasis upon the general principles of mechanics dis-

tinguishes him particularly from previous writers of machine books such as Jacques Besson, Agostino Ramelli, Georg Andreas Böckler, and others, and places his work among the modern analytical books of mechanical philosophy such as those of John Theophilus Desaguliers and James Ferguson.<sup>3</sup> Until Leupold's work appeared, complete machines were illustrated, and the elements that may have been common to several machines were explained repeatedly, without systematically pointing out their similarities. Leupold's work still contains many examples of complete machines because he believed that through such repetition the users would understand his descriptions more easily, but his emphasis is on basic components. The machines he described were derived from nearly the whole body of published technical literature in several languages, beginning from the time of Agricola. Leupold's own contributions and refinements appear frequently throughout the work. Many of his illustrations are copied from published sources, but these are often clarified through additional cross-sectional or other detailed views not present in the originals. The plates, a total of 531 counting also those in the supplement and in the volumes on mills, have been engraved by Böcklin, Creite, Krügener, Uhlich, and others. To what extent Leupold himself is responsible for the original drawings is not known. A number of plates do not carry the names of engravers, and only very few the name of the drawer, e.g., Uhlich. The instruments and machines described by Leupold in his work were available for purchase at his instrument shop at Leipzig, in the original, when small, or as scaled models when big, cf. "Vorrede" to *Theatrum machinarum hydraulicarum*.

Jacob Leupold is known today mainly as the author of *Theatrum machinarum*. He was born in 1674, at Planitz, near Zwickau, in the province of Saxony in Germany. Although no major studies have been written about his life and career,<sup>4</sup> enough can be found in various publications to sketch the more important aspects of his activities. His father was a cabinetmaker and turner of recognized ability, whose other skills included watchmaking and sculpturing. The son was introduced early to these trades, but he was apparently not prepared to follow his father's footsteps. He was a frail child and lacked the physical strength for such an occupation. Leupold became a student at the Latin school at Zwickau and enrolled thereafter at the



University of Jena, mainly to hear the lectures of the then-famous professor of mathematics Erhard Weigel. Lack of sufficient funds to meet the high living expenses at Jena soon forced Leupold to abandon his studies there, and he transferred to Wittenberg. There he studied mathematics with professor Martin Knorren, with whom he developed a close relationship and who gave him free access to his own library. At the University of Wittenberg Leupold acquired a good mathematical education, but for unexplained reasons he decided to study theology at the University of Leipzig, where he arrived in 1696. Completely without money, he earned his keep by giving private lessons in mathematics, first to youngsters and later also to more advanced students and tradesmen. He himself began to make the necessary mathematical instruments needed for these lessons. As he developed his skills in this kind of work, he received more and more orders for mathematical instruments and other scientific apparatus, and was advised to abandon his theological studies and to devote his time solely to the new trade, for there were enough preachers in Leipzig, but no artisans whose knowledge was solidly grounded in mathematics and physics. Leupold became an apprentice with Christian Schober, a mechanic and instrument maker in Leipzig, in 1698. The relationship between them became embittered during the later years, caused by rivalry in their trade. Schober accused Leupold of running away from his shop after he had completed only six months of a six-year term of apprenticeship. He had also a very low opinion of Leupold's skills as an instrument maker.<sup>5</sup>

Although Leupold worked full time in his instrument shop from 1699 to build various types of scientific apparatus, his income remained very modest for some time; to supplement it, he accepted the post of manager at the local hospital, a position which left him enough free time for his workshop. A man of inventive genius, Leupold improved the air pump, or vacuum pump, invented by Otto von Guericke in 1650. Von Guericke's success in creating an airless space and his public demonstrations of the force of atmospheric pressure, held first at Magdeburg in 1657, had stimulated the scientific community to further research and experiments in this area, and the air pumps were still popular during Leupold's time. Leupold's improved air pumps (one of which is presently in the Deutsches Museum in Munich), his other inventions, and the general excellence



of his products made his name widely known and respected. Enough business came to him to enable him to resign from the hospital post in 1714, and to turn his full attention to running the instrument shop, in which he now employed several persons. Leupold designed and constructed many kinds of mathematical instruments in addition to machines and models of machines. His workshop was considered one of the best in Germany, and his fame spread throughout the contemporary scientific community. The recognition that he enjoyed rested not only on the excellence and popularity of his instruments and models, but also to a certain extent on his writings. Leupold's publications and drawings provide ample evidence of ingenuity and inventiveness of a high order. There is also proof that he combined an understanding of the scientific principles and of the purpose for which his instruments and machines were designed with the skill of an artisan to construct them. Leupold was named a member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin and also of the Accademia dell'Onor Letterario of Forli, Italy. As a mark of official recognition, he was named a Royal Prussian Councilor of Commerce, and the King of Poland appointed him the Royal Councilor of Mines for his lands in Saxony.

Leupold, never physically robust, suffered from a severe illness in 1704 which left him partially handicapped for the rest of his life. He died on January 12, 1727, in the midst of writing his most important work, the *Theatrum machinarum*. He left his instrument shop in Leipzig to J. G. Cotta, who had worked under his supervision for six years, and who continued to construct instruments and models.

Jacob Leupold is the author of several other publications besides the *Theatrum machinarum*. No bibliographical study of his writings is presently known, and most of his works are not available in this country. Based on data culled from various sources, the following listing will help to evaluate Leupold's position in the contemporary scientific world. His works are described in the order of their appearance.

1. *Antlia pneumatica illustrata, das ist, Eine deutliche Beschreibung der so genandten Luft-Pumpe . . .* Leipzig, 1707.

This work contains the description of Leupold's improved air pump; the publishing date is supplied by Poggendorff. A new edition was published

in Leipzig, 1712, under the title: *Antlia pneumatica illustrata, oder deutliche Beschreibung der sogenannten Luftpumpe . . . Alles in vielen deutlichen und accuraten Figuren entworfen und zum andern mahl, nebst der ersten Continuation und einem Verzeichniss unterschiedl. mathematischen und physikalischen Instrumenten herausgegeben*. Leipzig, Zu finden bey dem Autore und bey C. Zunkeln.

The part entitled *Verzeichniss* . . . contains the first known catalogue of Leupold's instruments and machines he is offering for sale.

In addition to the first *Continuation* mentioned in the above title, there was also a second one, the *Antliae pneumaticae illustratae continuatio secunda, oder: Die andere Fortsetzung des Tractats von der Luft-Pumpe*. Leipzig, Druckts C. Zunkel [1713].

2. *Anamorphosis mechanica nova, oder Beschreibung dreyer neuen Maschinen, mit welchen sehr geschwinde und leichte . . . mancherlei Bilder und Figuren können gezeichnet werden*. Leipzig, Druck von Immanuel Tientzen, 1713.

This, the second of Leupold's known works, concerns itself with drawing instruments.

3. *Die Leipziger Hen-Waage, oder Beschreibung einer grossen Schnell-Waage . . .* Leipzig, 1718.

This work contains the description of Leupold's improved scale to weigh hay and other bulky materials.

4. *Catalogus seiner Antlien und Darstellung . . . meist aller Maschinen . . . welche nicht nur bisshero von vielen Curiösen . . . erfunden, sondern auch derer, so theils von ihm selbst neu inventiret, als auch theils verbessert worden*. Leipzig, 1718.

Leupold's second catalogue, describing his air pumps and other machines, including some invented by others, but also those which Leupold himself had invented or improved.

5. A description of fire engines was supposedly published by Leupold in 1719, but no copy has been recorded in presently available sources other than Feldhaus.<sup>6</sup>

6. *Catalogus mancherley Maschinen*. Leipzig, 1722.

The third and last of known catalogues of Leupold's instruments and machines.

7. *Theatrum machinarum*. Leipzig [etc.], 1724–88.

Leupold's "magnum opus" and mainly responsible for his fame. The publishing history of the various reprints of this work is not well known, and a full description is impossible without access to all volumes in question. The following outline is based on information derived from secondary sources and from the National Union Catalog in addition to the microfilmed set.

[v. 1] *Theatrum machinarum generale. Schau-Platz des Grundes mechanischer Wissenschaften* . . . Leipzig, Druckts Christoph Zunkel, 1724. 10 p.l., 240, [4] pp. 71 fold. plates. Also another edition, including added plate no. xi, with imprint: Leipzig, Neu aufgelegt auf Kosten Bernhard Christoph Breitkopfs und Sohn, 1774.

All other volumes through [v. 9] were also reissued in 1774 at Leipzig by B. C. Breitkopf und Sohn; other known printings or editions of individual volumes are indicated separately.

This volume describes the basic parts of machines and their functions, such as the lever, wedge, screw, wheels and gears, flywheel, and block and tackle. The conversion of linear movement into circular, and vice-versa, and general principles of mechanics are also explained. Other parts deal with the sources and use of different kinds of power, such as that of man, animals, wind, water, the weight of falling bodies, and fire. The author also discusses the perpetual motion machines, pointing out the fallacies involved.

[v. 2] *Theatrum machinarum hydrotechnicarum. Schau-Platz der Wasser-Bau-Kunst* . . . Leipzig, Druckts Christoph Zunkel, 1724. 6 p.l., 184, [4] pp. 51 fold. plates.

The quality and quantity of water, the ways to find it and to harness it for useful work are the concern of this volume. Different types of pipe to carry water, and the best methods to apply them in certain situations, are described. Also explained are the many tools and various types of equipment used for excavations and for the drilling of wells, in addition to those available at that time for the construction of canals, ditches, dams, retaining walls, locks, drawbridges and other structures; descriptions of these structures themselves are included. The use of gunpowder and other devices to clear streams of underwater obstructions and to make them navigable is also discussed.

[v. 3] *Theatri machinarum hydraulicarum. Tomus I. Oder: Schau-Platz der Wasser-Künste, erster Theil* . . . Leipzig, Druckts Christoph Zunkel, 1724. 7 p.l., 172, [2] pp. 53 plates. Also another edition, Leipzig, Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, 1790.



[v. 4] *Theatri machinarum hydraulicarum tomus II. Oder: Schau-Platz der Wasser-Künste, anderer Theil . . .* Leipzig, Druckts Christoph Zunckel [!], 1725. 10 p.l., 165, [3] pp. 54 plates (part double).

Volumes [3-4] are actually two parts of the same volume, frequently bound together and known under the title *Theatrum machinarum hydraulicarum*. These volumes are here listed separately because J. E. Schefler's *Supplementum* (volume [9] in this listing) refers to the previously published eight volumes, and J. M. Beyer's *Theatrum machinarum molarium* is called volume nine of Leupold's work in its title. These volume numberings are correct only if the two volumes of *Theatrum machinarum hydraulicarum* are counted separately.

These volumes deal with different types of equipment to lift water. The author describes siphons, buckets, bucket-wheels, endless belts, screws, and various kinds of pumps. The types of power to activate these devices, such as animals, wind, and water, are described, together with their proper application. The use of a steam engine is also explained. Leupold's attention to detail is well illustrated by his descriptions of many kinds of valves and pistons. Included are systems to distribute water, such as canals, aqueducts, etc. Of some interest are Leupold's descriptions of inefficient and unworkable devices, accompanied with his explanations.

[v. 5] *Theatrum machinarium, oder: Schau-Platz der Heb-Zeuge . . .* Leipzig, Gedruckt bey Christoph Zunkel, 1725. 8 p.l., 162, [4] pp. 56 fold. plates.

The application of the principles of mechanics to move bodies is the topic of this volume. Beginning with the simple pole, Leupold describes in detail the tools and equipment used to lift or move weights. These include the lever, block and tackle, wheels and rollers, the inclined plane, cogwheels and gears, screws and endless screws, ratchets, windlasses, and cranes.

[v. 6] [*Theatrum staticum universale*] *Pars I-[IV] Theatri statici universalis . . .* Leipzig, Gedruckt bey Christoph Zunkel, 1726. 6 p.l., [232], [4] pp. 19, 7, 23, 8 fold. plates.

All parts have special title pages: Pars I. *Theatrum staticum, das ist: Schau-Platz der Gewicht-Kunst und Waagen*. Pars II. *Theatrum hydrostaticum, oder: Schau-Platz der Wissenschaft und Instrumenten zum Wasser-wägen*. Pars III. *Theatrum aërostaticum, oder: Schau-Platz der Maschinen zu Abwiegung und Observirung aller vornehmsten Eigenschafften der Luft*. Pars IV. *Theatrum horizontostaticum sive libellationis, oder: Schau-Platz von Wasser- oder Horizontal-Waagen*.

The first part of this volume describes the different kinds of scales, including Leupold's own invention, the hay scale, used to weigh various



solid substances. The second part concerns itself with instruments to weigh and measure liquids, and to find the specific gravity of solid bodies. The third part describes the instruments to measure and record the characteristics of atmosphere, such as barometer, thermometer, manometer, and hygrometer, and also instruments to measure and record the velocity and direction of the wind. The fourth part deals with levels and leveling.

[v. 7] *Theatrum pontificiale, oder Schau-Platz der Brücken und Brücken-Baues* . . . Leipzig, Gedruckt bei Christoph Zunkel, 1726. 8 p.l., 153, [5] pp. [60] fold. plates.

This is the last volume to appear during the author's lifetime. According to his statement in the foreword to this volume, Leupold had planned to publish, by the Leipzig Easter fair of 1727, a volume devoted mainly to mining machinery, for which he had already made extensive preparations. The organization of the material had, however, taken more time than he anticipated, and he then selected the *Theatrum arithmetico-geometricum* as the next volume to appear, postponing the mining machines to the fall of 1727. Leupold died in January 1727, leaving the work unfinished. Some mining machines and equipment are included in various parts of Leupold's work and also in the supplement compiled by Scheffler, but a separate volume of these was never published. The hopes for such a volume were still alive in 1735,<sup>7</sup> and for this reason Beyer omitted the mining machines from his *Theatrum machinarum molarium*.

Bridges and other means to cross water are described in this volume. The author is concerned about the shortage of literature on bridges, and bases his text and drawings on Hubert Gautier's *Traité des ponts*, Paris, 1716, adding his own commentaries. The volume includes wooden, stone, and iron bridges and their construction, and deals further with stationary and movable types of bridges. Diving bells, life belts and other similar equipment are also described.

[v. 8] *Theatrum arithmetico-geometricum, das ist: Schau-Platz der Rechen- und Mess-Kunst* . . . Leipzig, Gedruckt bey Christoph Zunkel, 1727. 7 p.l., [200], [4] pp. [45] fold. plates.

The last part of the *Theatrum machinarum* compiled by Leupold. It was published almost six months after his death and the dedication is signed: "Jacob Leupolds hinterbliebene Erben" (the heirs of Jacob Leupold); the foreword is dated "6 Maji, A.C. 1727."

Two versions of this edition are known. One, seemingly the original issue, has a list of "Corrigenda"; the last page of text of this version is erroneously numbered "300" instead of "200." The other version is a re-issue with reset type. Most misprints listed in the "Corrigenda" of the

earlier state have been corrected. The illustrations are inferior, an indication that the plates were worn.

There is also another edition, Leipzig, J. F. Gleditschens seel. Sohn, 1762.

Arithmetical and other mathematical instruments, also calculating machines, including those used by the Romans and the Chinese, or invented by Leibniz and Leupold himself, are described in this volume. It also includes the slide rule, compass, and various kinds of drawing and trigonometrical instruments.

[v. 9] *Theatri machinarum supplementum. Das ist: Zusatz zum Schau-Platz der Maschinen und Instrumenten . . .* Leipzig, Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf, 1739. 6 p.l., 100, [4], [92] pp. 40 plates on 36 leaves (4 folded).

The supplementary volume, including a general index to preceding eight volumes, was compiled by Joachim Ernst Scheffler. It is not known whether he had any personal contact with Leupold during the latter's lifetime. The publication date of the volume is given by Poggendorff and Michaud as 1741, but no copy of that date has been recorded elsewhere.

The supplement describes several surveying and geometrical instruments, and a number of tools, instruments, and machines in addition to those explained in the previous volumes of the *Theatrum machinarum*, such as turning benches, scales, canal locks, dams, drawbridges, waterwheels, turbines, etc. The volume also contains, besides the index to its own contents, a general index to all previous volumes, and a list of persons whose mechanical inventions have been described there, with references to published sources. The listing of Jacob Leupold's own inventions and improvements covers about two pages in double columns.

[v. 10] *Theatrum machinarum molarium, oder Schau-Platz der Mühlen-Bau-Kunst . . . Ein Buch, welches im gemeinen Wesen . . . und als der neunnde Theil von des seel. Herrn Jacob Leupolds Theatro machinarum sehr wohl wird können gebraucht werden. Ausgefertiget und zusammen getragen von Johann Matthias Beyer und Consorten.* Leipzig und Rudelstadt, W. Deer, 1735. 4 p.l., 125, [5], [2], [12], 206, 49, [3], 22 pp. 43 plates.

The second part of this work deals with milling laws and has a special title page: *Der andre Theil zum Schau-Platz der Mühlen-Bau-Kunst, oder Kern des Mühlen-Rechts. . . .*

Other editions of this volume were published at Dresden, in der Waltherischen Hof-Buchhandlung, 1767, 1802, and 1803.

This volume on mills by Johann Matthias Beyer is actually an independent work. As suggested in the title by its compiler, it can be also considered as the ninth part of Leupold's *Theatrum machinarum*. According to the foreword to Beyer's work, Leupold had promised to prepare such

a volume. His death ended the preparations, so that “das beste, und was eigentlich zu diesem Werck gehörte, nemlich der Mühlen-Bau und Bergwercks-Maschinen, nebst denen Haushaltungs-Maschinen und Instrumenten zurück geblieben . . . war” (the best, and what actually ought to belong to this work, namely the construction of mills and the mining machines, besides the housekeeping machines and instruments, was left out). The text of the present volume is based largely on the manuscript of an unidentified inventor, who was engaged by the publisher to write this work, but was unable to finish it; it was expanded and further explained by Beyer, who also made the drawings. Some material has been drawn from Leonhard Christoph Sturm’s *Vollständige Mühlen-Baukunst*, Augsburg, 1718.

The first part of this volume is devoted to the description of different types of mills, treated first according to the type of power used to operate them, and secondly, by the type of work they have to do. The emphasis is on water-driven flour mills, including descriptions of various kinds of waterwheels. Stamping mills, sawmills, gunpowder mills and several other kinds of mills are also included.

The second part of the work deals with milling laws, particularly in Saxony.

[v. 11] *Johann Matthias Beyers Theatrum machinarum molarium, oder Schau-Platz der Mühlen-Bau-Kunst, fortgesetzt und erweitert, als desselben dritter Theil . . . von Johann Karl Weinhold*. Dresden, In Verlag der Waltherischen Hofbuchhandlung, 1788. 2 p.l., 133, [11], 106 pp. 11 plates.

This final volume of the *Theatrum machinarum*, published many years after the others, is frequently not present in the sets. Its connection with Leupold’s work is only marginal.

Called the third part of Beyer’s *Theatrum machinarum molarium*, this volume was compiled by Johann Karl Weinhold. He corrects some mistakes in Beyer’s work, and offers additions to and comments on its various parts. The volume also contains certain elements of arithmetic, geometry, and mechanics, as well as the methods to construct machinery and canals, as far as these seemed useful to the builders of mills and milling machinery. Descriptions of French horizontal flourmills and of Swedish sawmills with several saws and additional commentaries on milling laws have been added.

8. *Kurzer Entwurff aus was Arth die Verbesserung des Maschinen-Wesens bey denen Bergwercken zu veranstalten*. Leipzig, 1725.

This short work on the improvements of mining machinery was later reprinted in Christian E. Seyffert’s *Bibliotheca metallica*, Leipzig, 1728, pp. 213–217.



9. *Prodromus bibliothecae metallicaе, oder Verzeichnis der meisten Schriften, so von Dingen die ad regnum minerale gezehlet werden, handeln . . .* Leipzig, [1726].

The publishing date of this bibliography on mineralogy and metals is uncertain. T. Besterman in his *A World Bibliography of Bibliographies* assigns it to 1700?, the British Museum to 1730?, but Poggendorff and Hoefer both date it as 1726. The last is probably correct, because the foreword to the 1732 edition is dated 1726.

Also another edition: *Prodromus bibliothecae metallicaе . . . so corrigirt, ferner fortgesetzt und vermehrt worden von Franc. Ernest Brueckmann*. Wolfenbüttel, 1732. 157, xviii pp.

## NOTES

1. J. E. Scheffler, *Theatri machinarum supplementum*, p. [vi].
2. Translation from Conrad Matschoss, *Great Engineers*, trans. H. S. Hatfield (London, 1939), pp. 115–116.
3. E. S. Ferguson, "Leupold's Theatrum machinarum," *Technology and Culture*, xii (1971), 64.
4. Short biographical notices concerning Jacob Leupold can be found in several standard encyclopedias and biographical dictionaries such as *Der grosse Brockhaus*, *Enciclopedia italiana*, *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada* (Espasa), Michaud's *Biographie universelle*, Hoefer's *Nouvelle biographie générale*, and Poggendorff's *Handwörterbuch zur Geschichte der exacten Wissenschaften*. Unexpectedly, there is no entry for him in the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* nor the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

More extensive articles have appeared from time to time in different publications, the first one by G. Tettelbach in Dresden soon after Leupold's death in 1727. Johann Heinrich Zedler's *Grosses vollständiges universal Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, Halle & Leipzig, 1732–50, and Christian Gottlieb Jöcher's *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, Leipzig, 1750–51, both contain articles about Leupold. These were followed by a chapter in Friedrich Carl Gottlob Hirsching's *Historisch-literarisches Handbuch berühmter und denkwürdiger Personen*, Leipzig, 1799. Of more modern treatments, Gustav Wustmann's article, "Ein Doktor-Ingenieur aus der Barockzeit," published in *Aus Leipzigs Vergangenheit. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 3. Reihe, Leipzig, 1909, should be mentioned. There are also chapters in Franz Maria Feldhaus' *Die Technik der Vorzeit, der geschichtlichen Zeit und der Naturvölker*, Leipzig & Berlin, 1914, in Friedrich Klemm's *Technik: eine Geschichte ihrer Probleme*, Freiburg & München, 1954, and Conrad Matschoss' *Grosse Ingenieure. Lebensbeschreibungen aus der Geschichte der Technik*, München, 1954, the last including a portrait of Leupold. The most informative is Karl



Werner's article "Aus der Frühzeit physikalischer Werkstätten—kleiner Beitrag zu einem Lebensbild Jacob Leupolds," published in *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften, Technik und Medizin*, Heft 3, 1960. Of particular interest are two recent articles in English, "The Beginnings of Graphic Recording," by H. E. Hoff and L. A. Geddes, in *Isis*, LIII (1962), 287-324, and E. S. Ferguson's "Leupold's *Theatrum machinarum*: a Need and an Opportunity," in *Technology and Culture*, XII (1971), 64-68.

5. K. Werner "Aus, der Frühzeit physikalischer Werkstätten," pp. 46-47.
6. F. M. Feldhaus, *Die Technik der Vorzeit, der geschichtlichen Zeit und der Naturvölker*, col. 628.
7. J. M. Beyer, *Theatrum machinarum molarium*. Vorbericht, p. [vi].

# John Bell's Edition of Shakespeare, 1784-88

WILLIAM C. WOODSON\*

JOHN BELL (1745-1831) was a remarkably versatile figure in the London book trade; he founded *The Morning Post* and other newspapers, was proprietor of The British Library, and published *The Poets of Great Britain*, the *British Theatre*, and two editions of Shakespeare. "No man," concludes a recent historian of London printing, "has equalled his record."<sup>1</sup> Bell's first edition of Shakespeare was based on the prompt-book texts, while the second, ten years later, was advertised as a "superb and correct edition"<sup>2</sup> of the Johnson-Steevens *Shakespeare*. Issued on an irregular weekly basis, *The Dramatick Writings of Will. Shakspeare* appeared in fifty-nine numbers between 1784 and 1788. This was not simply a casual piracy, however, for with the edition Bell hoped for nothing less than international fame.

Denied membership in the London book trade cabal, Bell promoted his edition with fervor. The wrappers themselves unabashedly informed the public that "The publisher is ambitious of producing a Work which may attract the admiration of all Europe. . . ." Glancing at the competing editions, Bell claimed grandly for his own that "neither pains nor expence have been spared, to render it superior to every other. In point of exterior, it is believed, that it hath as yet no rival, either in ornaments, printing, or paper." In *The Gazetteer*, December 23, 1785, Bell proudly announced the reception of the first numbers: "The Plan and Execution of this Publication has met with the approbation and admiration of every class of readers in every part of the world where the work has been seen." His underlying purpose, in effect, was to create the definitive edition of Shakespeare, for he believed that the text had been finally determined. Accordingly he had commissioned "a new Bourgeois letter, cast and delicately dressed on purpose," special ornaments, and "new and magnificent" embellishments, to be engraved by Bartolozzi and others, with at least ninety plates to be bound in a complete set of the *Works*. In view of the graphic quality of the competing editions, it

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must be admitted that Bell had some foundation for his towering pretension: "This work is intended to supercede the necessity for any other Edition whatever, as it will be calculated to gratify every class of readers." If nothing else, Bell's shrewdness in identifying a potential market for his venture is indicated by a list in the final number of more than eighteen hundred subscribers, ranging from William Blake, Malone, and Steevens, to lords and ladies of the realm.

The manner of its publication gives rise to some difficulties in classifying Bell's *Shakspeare*. The plays appeared in thirty-six numbers, 1784–86; the Prolegomena in four numbers, continuously paged and signed, 1786; and the thirty-six variorum Annotations in eighteen numbers, 1787. Although these parts had dated title pages, the final number contained preliminaries for binding, including additional title pages, dated 1788. The binder was instructed to place the Annotations directly after each play, with two plays so arranged to a volume. The Prolegomena were to be bound in two volumes with the preliminaries and a table of contents, which located two plates for each play and eighteen for the Prolegomena. This was the final form of the edition, in twenty volumes, as Bell envisioned it. Occasionally, however, dissatisfied with an illustration to the plays, Bell had commissioned a third engraving while thriftily including the one he disliked, so that there are three plates for some plays. Furthermore, Bell had offered his complete *Shakspeare* bound in twelve volumes in *The World*, January 1, 1787, more than a year before the last number appeared; this set presumably lacks the Annotations, for they are not mentioned in this advertisement.

A variety of private schemes of binding also was possible, and that the public indeed elected a number of options is readily discovered in Jaggard's *Shakespeare Bibliography*. Jaggard classifies Bell as an edition of the *Works*, 1785–87, i.e., bound without the 1788 preliminaries, and also 1786–88, signifying that the plays from 1784–85 had been reedited. Without cross-references Jaggard also lists individual plays, variously dated, while all the variorum commentary is identified as Johnson's Annotations, 1787.

Aiming for the largest possible market, Bell printed on both ordinary paper, duodecimo, and fine paper, octavo, charging 1/6 for the one and 5/ for the other. He offered proof impressions with the octavo edition, where the plates show to best advantage, since they

are closely cropped and at times folded in duodecimo size. Bell's pride in the edition's graphic arts relates obviously to the octavo printing, where there are pleasing margins both for the plates and the printed page: "The amateurs of fine printing esteem this copy amongst the finest works that have issued from the press."<sup>3</sup> The plays were paginally reprinted with new dates and signatures by 1790. The Prolegomena for instance were set twice in 1786: A-3Z<sup>4</sup>-4A<sup>3</sup> and A-2Z<sup>6</sup>-3A<sup>3</sup>, and again in 1788, A<sup>2</sup>-B<sup>6</sup>-2Z<sup>6</sup>-3B. "Bell's Edition" continued to appear as late as 1818, although many issues were piracies without the distinctive ornaments and typefaces, which at Bell's bankruptcy in 1793 passed to George Cawthorn. Thus sets of Bell's *Shakspeare* with mixed dates are not uncommon, and it is possible that parts of the edition may not be fully identified in some collections.

The format of the play texts evolved through three stages, but each play did not go through all three phases. In the final form, lines are numbered through each act; this provides the keying system to the Annotations, which are similarly numbered. In the first stage, illustrated only by a 1784 *Macbeth* in my investigation, the text is given through-line-numbering for each act, inverted commas around passages omitted in performance, and asterisks to signal a note in the Annotations. I have encountered three plays dated 1785 which omit the asterisks but retain the through-line-numbering and the inverted commas, *The Tempest*, *Much Ado about Nothing*, and *Measure for Measure*. These three plays were brought into uniformity with the other volumes in 1788, while *Macbeth* was so reedited in 1785. In my experience with *Macbeth* for the New Variorum edition, Bell uses the 1778 edition of Johnson and Steevens as the substantive text, but emends punctuation and capitalization with a consistency that can only suggest that graphics rather than textual considerations determined his choices. Thus he eliminated all capitals at mid-line, wherever possible, and favored a relatively light system of punctuation. Bell introduced no substantive readings and for this reason his edition is little noticed by scholars or editors today.

The Annotations for *Macbeth*, however, while they are based on the Johnson-Steevens-Reed edition of 1785, do not simply reprint that commentary. Abridging and eliminating many of the 1785 notes, Bell's Annotations also contain commentary that appears for the first time, some of it not found elsewhere, including a unique



conjecture by Steevens on the first scene of the play, where he reads “There to greet Macbeth.” Samuel Henley’s seven notes in the 1785 *Macbeth* more than triple to twenty-four in the 1787 Annotations, and this taken together with Henley’s occasional references to other notes in the Annotations suggests his close connection with Bell’s edition. Yet some of the new notes are signed with three asterisks, and a few by Editor, so that it is not certain that Henley had final responsibility for the Annotations.<sup>4</sup> Five of the new notes by Henley are incorporated by Steevens in his 1793 edition along with five of the seven notes by Henley from 1785. There remain twelve notes by Henley then that are unique to Bell’s Annotations on *Macbeth*. In one case, when Henley provides an alternative reading to Malone’s, Steevens in 1793 provides his own alternative to Malone, using intact a sentence from Henley. Once Henley rejects Steevens’ 1785 reading in favor of Steevens’ more sensible reading from 1778, which reappears in 1793. Most of the other unique notes deserve the oblivion provided by a forgotten edition.

Bell lived to see the much more expensive Boydell *Shakespeare* eclipse his own as a masterpiece of graphic art, and also to see a family of variorum editions (Malone, 1790; Steevens, 1793; Reed, 1803; Malone, 1821) supersede each other and his own. Although he had mistaken the stability of Shakespeare’s text, his was the satisfaction of knowing that he had not misjudged the widespread salability of a handsomely edited Shakespeare to a popular audience. Bell also may be regarded as the father of the pictorial editions of Shakespeare.

## NOTES

1. P. M. Handover, *Printing in London from 1476 to Modern Times* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), p. 148. A sketch of Bell’s career is in Stanley Morison, *John Bell* (London, 1930). Morison’s account focuses on Bell’s printing innovations and includes examples of the ornaments and typefaces used in the edition of *Shakspeare*.
2. *The Morning Post*, January 10, 1786, advertising *Lear*. A complete set of Bell’s *Shakspeare* in wrappers is in the Folger Library.
3. *The Morning Post*, September 26, 1785, advertising *Twelfth Night*.
4. Little is known about Henley. Reed occasionally mentions him in the *Diaries* as a dinner guest, but nothing in the *DNB* account links Henley to editors of Shakespeare.

## Some Swinburne Letters

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN FISHER IV\*

IT is a tribute to Cecil Y. Lang that few additions have been brought forth since volume six of his magisterial edition of *The Swinburne Letters* was completed in 1962. Despite the six large volumes, however, Lang recognized the probability of lacunae in his work. "This edition," he wrote, "is the first collection of Swinburne's letters to aim at completeness. The goal is clearly beyond reach, restricted as it must be to the letters still extant or, more narrowly, to those *known* to be extant. . . ." Lang also emphasizes that Swinburne's letters "reveal an altogether surprising range of curiosity and interest, a sensibility responsive to a remarkable variety of stimuli, a hunger for the world about him almost as avid as his celebrated appetite for certain glorious eras in the past."<sup>1</sup> In the July, 1972, issue of *Notes & Queries* a number of additional Swinburne letters have been published, and I hope that my own additions to this body of Swinburne's writing may be useful to those interested in this great Victorian poet.

The following seven letters, previously unpublished, cover roughly a forty-year span of the poet's life. They reveal in him a variety of moods, they confirm Lang's opinions above, and they contribute in their own modest way an additional dimension to biographical portraiture of Swinburne. No matter how brief or perfunctory any one of these letters is (e.g., the second one), it provides some evidence of Swinburne's interests in his friends, family, wide reading knowledge, his own writings and their progress, and his delight in the world of nature. Thus these letters fill in gaps among the published letters, as small pieces coalesce in a large mosaic. Swinburne's sociability, his wit, his literary likes and dislikes, come through to us in these letters, particularly in numbers three, four, and five. Also, his human qualities are more evident here than in some of the poems, and it is possible to realize more about him as a genuine, everyday person instead of the fantastic, exotic creature who has come down to us in so many examples of biographical portraiture. In reviewing Jean Overton

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Fuller's lopsided, sensational biography of the poet (*ELT*, 1972), I attempted to correct some of this grotesque portrayal, and, I trust, these letters will serve as a further measure of evidence to tone down the "character" into the man. Instead of some fearsome, loquacious *rara avis*, Swinburne is revealed as ever so human.<sup>2</sup>

124 Mount Street  
Grosvenor Square  
Thursday<sup>3</sup>

My dear Inchbold<sup>4</sup>

I hope you are not by this time thinking me hopeless & thankless. I would not answer your summons till I could be sure of my time; & I have had much to do lately. Now if the week after next finds you still at the same address I shall be delighted to come down to you. I want the sea much—& also to meet you again. Please write at once & tell me how I can come, where are the stations &c. Saturday or Sunday week will probably be my day. On Monday I go to Lord Houghton's (Fryston Hall, Ferrybridge, Yorkshire—I dare say you remember) & if you put off writing a day or two you must address me there.<sup>5</sup> I shall only stay three or four days I expect. Excuse my long enforced delay in writing to say how I jumped at your proposal. I am (in great hopes of soon meeting & enjoying the sea together)

Ever yours affly  
A. C. Swinburne

Jan. 5th<sup>6</sup>

Dear Rossetti

Hugo has sent me a presentation copy of his poem, with an inscription. Mazzini is in London, ill, but better. Voilà.

AC Swinburne

Holmwood  
Shiplake  
Henley on Thames  
Nov. 14th 1875

My dear Minto<sup>7</sup>

Seeing in yesterday's Examiner a hope expressed that I or some other whom a person unknown in a publication unknown to me "has libelled [*should*] [& may] make him find that a court of justice can yet protect the



reputations even of literary men," I was at first impelled to write to you as a personal friend on whose judgment and good sense as well as good will I could rely, asking for such particulars as might guide my own judgment in the matter, & enclosing a brief note to be published either in full or in part or not at all as might seem most advisable to you in your public capacity of editor.<sup>8</sup> It is certainly full time that a man of some mark & of good repute sh'd come forward to [*observe*] [*say a word*] on the present recrudescence of a form of literary blackguardism which it used to be the boast of recent writers that the age had long ago condemned & buried in the dunghill of past villainies; for it assuredly seems as tho' the obscure ghosts of the 'Satirist Scourge,' 'Beacons,' &c. had risen from their fetid repose to infect the air of our own day. I, having been very frequently the mark for their missiles, might for once have taken on myself the charge of their acknowledging the attentions of the 'Grubstreet World,' the 'Club Spy,' the 'Pantry Satirist,' [*Echoes*] [*Peeps*] through the Keyhole,' 'Echoes from the dressing Room,' &c. &c. which have at various times favoured me with wholly novel information as to my own age, date & place of birth, habits & conversation, &c. Only yesterday I was informed (this time by a private letter) that I had shocked everybody & given rise to 'all sorts of scandals' by my shameless conduct at Trouville—where I never was in my life, nor out of England at all for the last six years & more. But I think it better to reserve any remarks for a more general occasion than by any particular notice to call attention to the obscure offence, however offensive it may be, of the last specimen extant of the auto-coprophagous tribe who make the filth they feed on, & feed on the filth they make. So I content myself with sending you the following lines (not written on the present [*or any particular*] occasion) to be published if you like with my name.

Epitaph on a Slanderer.

He whose heart & soul & tongue  
Once aboveground stunk & stung,  
[*Here*] [Now] less noisome than before.  
Stinks [*where*] [here still], but stings no more.<sup>9</sup>

I enclose another quatrain which *was* thrown off last night on receipt of the 'Examiner' intelligence—the dog's dunghill name suggested so capital a rhyme—which I presume you will find (in DeQuincey's happy phrases) 'too atrociously Swiftian' for insertion. [Tho' you are of course at liberty to show it wherever & whenever you please.] I am not partial, as a rule, though the great Carlyle is, to what Landor once called 'such flowers from the Deanery garden'; but under what other type can such objects be presented or recognized?<sup>10</sup>



Please drop me a line to let me know you have received this note & last week's, with other request contained in which I hope you did not find it troublesome to comply.

I am too near harbour with Erechtheus & I trust with too fair a wind,<sup>11</sup> to be much moved by any 'longshore stench from the land of lies at present; & besides there is truth in the old saw 'The more you stir a 'libeller (Swift *wd* have used the sharper original word in preference to this tri-syllabic equivalent), the more it stinks.'<sup>12</sup>

Ever yours truly  
AC Swinburne

A Lark for a Liar.

Something nameless that no sheepdog snuffs or  
licks with nose or tongue  
Chokes the vent-hole of the cesspool; is it  
man or is it dung?  
Cloacina reeling bedwards, dropped  
it backwards from her womb,  
And the scavenger that smelt it  
swooned, & spewed, & called it Broome.

The Pines.  
Putney Hill,  
S.W.

Dear Sir<sup>13</sup>

I have just received a parcel labelled 'Reviews of *Mary Stuart*'<sup>14</sup> but containing only two worthless duplicates (from the Glasgow Herald & Leeds Mercury) of an article which you sent to me some weeks since consisting almost wholly of extracts from the play, & which it was waste of time, trouble, [e]xpense to send again. I hope to receive the reviews mentioned in your former letter by the next post convenient.

Thanks for the illustrated books & others which *have* come to hand as desired—except Mrs. Surr's Stories about Cats, long since announced as out. Will you also send me (before the 24th [*the*] [The] 'Union Jack' and 'Every Boy's Annual' noticed in today's Daily News? & 'Dogs of Other Days' (Blackwood)?<sup>15</sup>

Yours truly  
AC Swinburne

Dec 19.81.

The Pines  
Putney Hill  
S.W.

Nov. 5, 81.

My dear Morley<sup>16</sup>

Having read with edification the Rossettian ballad in this evening's Pall Mall, I am moved to inquire whether you would like to publish in the same fashion a little dramatic monologue, showing how 'a wife & her husband, having been converted from free thought to Calvinism '& being utterly miserable' in consequence resolve to end themselves by poison. The man dies, but the woman is revived by application of the stomach-pump.' If you would, I think I could procure you such a poem.<sup>17</sup>

Ever yours  
AC Swinburne

The Pines  
July 19th  
(darling Mimmie's birthday)<sup>18</sup>  
1906

My dearest Abba<sup>19</sup>

I stupidly forgot to enclose these two Connoisseurs in the same parcel as the book of Children.<sup>20</sup> W.<sup>21</sup> and I like this month's number. You told me you had not received the May number, so I ordered another copy.

Many thanks for your note & kind wishes—but God forbid I should find myself in Sark at this season when nobody ever goes there. It is worse than the Undercliff by all accounts—the most relaxing place on earth—or rather in the sea. I wonder if even you would not find it too hot to bear.

It has been tiring and unnerving here—but today is pleasant—grey & cool.

One day last week there were two flocks of larks on the lake—very pretty to watch.

With best love & kindest regards  
Ever your mt affec brother  
AC Swinburne

The Pines  
March 10.7

My dearest Abba

Thanks for your note of yesterday. I wish you were half as well as I am in spite of this unpleasant & uncomfortable weather [on some days lately], which makes me feel too strengthless & stupid, day after day, to hold a

pen. But I am very sorry to hear of your not having left the house for so many weeks. I hope the growing spring will set you up a bit.

I am not the least 'poorly,' only dull & enforcedly lazy. There are times when I can walk & read but cannot bring myself to write anything—not a line to any one on any subject & never feel [so] comfortable [as] when walking briskly or lying down to read or sleep. Yes, the birds have strengthfully come back to the water, & are very funny. I envy you being able to hear your thrush.

I think the enclosed [on parish clerks] will amuse you. If you care to keep it, please do: if you don't perhaps you would not mind returning it. So you remember old Simmons's 'all things viserable and inviserable'?<sup>22</sup> I fear you are not old enough: but I feel sure Mimmie & Ally always did. With best love & kindest remems

Ever your mt aff brother  
AC Swinburne

## NOTES

1. *The Swinburne Letters*, ed. Cecil Y. Lang (New Haven, Conn., 1959–62), I, xxxii and xxxi. Gracious consent to publish these letters has been given by Princeton University Library (Letters I, II), Robert H. Taylor, Princeton, New Jersey (Letters III, IV, V), and Duke University Library (Letters VI, VII). I am also grateful to William Heinemann Ltd., holder of Swinburne copy-rights, for courtesy.
2. Accounts of Swinburne's oddities, as noticed by Richard Monckton Milnes, Henry Adams, and Anne Thackeray, appear in James Pope-Hennessy, *Monckton Milnes: The Flight of Youth 1851–1885* (London, 1951), pp. 128–129, 139, 144.
3. The date for this letter is undoubtedly late July 1864, for only about that time does Swinburne give the Mount Street address. See *Swinburne Letters*, I, 105. See also Pope-Hennessy, p. 137, where a visit from August 6–22 is mentioned.
4. John William Inchbold (1830–88), painter, long a friend of Swinburne's. At this time he lived in Cornwall, where Swinburne visited him shortly after writing this. See *Swinburne Letters*, I, 105–106n.
5. Richard Monckton Milnes, Lord Houghton (1809–85), collector of erotica and man of letters, who was a friend of Swinburne during the 1860's.
6. This letter must have been written in 1868, to William Michael Rossetti. The Hugo poem is the 1867 edition of *La Légende des Siècles*. Mazzini, the great Italian patriot adored by Swinburne, had fled to England for personal safety. See Swinburne's letters to W. M. Rossetti and Ford Madox Brown and Meredith's letter to Swinburne, all dated January 1868, *Swinburne Letters*, I, 28, 284–285, 287, where these matters are mentioned.

7. William Minto (1845–93) edited the *Examiner* from 1874 to 1878. He was a personal friend of Swinburne's. See *Swinburne Letters*, III, 82.
8. The quotation is from "A Literary Dung-Fly," *Examiner*, November 13, 1875. The "libeller" is Frederick Napier Broome (1842–96), knighted in 1884; in his recollections of his associations with literary figures of the day, e.g., Tennyson, Browning, Froude, Ruskin, he deprecated Swinburne's immorality. See "Literature and Art in London at the Present Day," *Evening Hours*, November 6, 1875, pp. 768ff. I am grateful to T. A. J. Burnett, Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum, for assistance with this reference. Swinburne's doggerel at the close of his letter never did see print.
9. These lines Swinburne published in the *Examiner* (November 20, 1875). There is, of course, an echo here of Pope's *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot* (line 310).
10. I cannot locate the phrases from DeQuincey and Landor.
11. *Erechtheus* was published in January 1876 (*Swinburne Letters*, III, 96n.).
12. The old saw referred to is "The more you stir a turd the more it stinks." See Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, 1950), 1603.
13. Andrew Chatto, Swinburne's publisher. A letter from Swinburne to Chatto on December 4, 1881, clarifies the contents of the present letter, which is a follow-up.
14. Swinburne's *Mary Stuart* had been published on November 24 (*Swinburne Letters*, IV, 244).
15. Blackwood published this last volume.
16. John Morley, editor of the *Fortnightly Review*.
17. Swinburne did publish "Disgust: A Dramatic Monologue" in the *Fortnightly* (December 1881). This parodies Tennyson's "Despair: A Dramatic Monologue," which had appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* (November 1881).
18. Swinburne's mother; she had died at age 87 in 1896.
19. Isabel Swinburne, the poet's sister.
20. Unidentified; Swinburne mentions this book, but not specifically what it is, in a letter to W. M. Rossetti, dated October 29. See *Swinburne Letters*, VI, 203.
21. W. is Watts-Dunton.
22. Unidentified person.



# Form as Seen in Two Early Works by Faulkner

LOIS MUEHL\*

NO one can be sure how deliberate was William Faulkner's every use of crisscross form detectable in *Sartoris*, and in his 1932 novel, *Light in August*. Some of his practice may have been unconscious and intuitive. So much, however, fits so closely, bearing—especially in the latter work—so organized a narrative structure that detailed analysis reveals what must have been highly calculated initial construction, and then painstaking reconstruction, the better to make one part support another.

To achieve this ordered intricacy, he made marked use of five fictional devices. The first has three subdivisions: he used common things, homely bits and pieces of everyday experience, (a) to introduce and characterize people both vividly and convincingly; (b) to bind his story-line together; and (c) to symbolize either ingrained and influential attitudes or coming changes.

In *Sartoris*, the returned pipe which colors the first few pages lets us believe in the Colonel's ghostly presence, understand Old Bayard's persistent connections with the past, and much of Falls' poorhouse status, veneration for the family, and personal honesty. In addition, the object introduces us to an older, partly unfamiliar world we still find credible because we do accept the lasting reality and mystic evocation of a pipe. Who has not been raised on the possibilities of pipe dreams and spirits invoked through smoke?

In the same way, Faulkner uses another common object, doors, to characterize the differences between two doctors. Peabody's door is plain, unpretentious pine, scarred from kicks, missing its hasps, clear evidence of its user's forthright casualness. Alford's door is "freshly painted and grained to represent walnut," modernized with glass and gilt, a harbinger of more sterile, less human prosperity to come. The men behind the doors match their approaches. The behavior of each man later in the novel matches his decor.

The scarred riding boots which Old Bayard "stamped into" on first coming home attest to his impetuous, uncaring habits and actions.

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Lena Grove's shoes, inherited from her brother and saved for town-going, speak for her material poverty, her patient watchfulness, even her masculine curiosity about travel. The angle of Joe Christmas' cap or hat, whichever he donned, was both "swaggering and baleful." This is more than characterization alone. Faulkner used clothing to indicate the form his story could assume because people were, in a sense, what they wore.

He made further use of clothing and other objects to bind different sections of his time-ranging narrative together. Old Bayard sits with "feet braced against the corner of the hearth, from which his boot-soles and the boot-soles of John Sartoris before him had long since worn the varnish away. . . ." This proceeds in clear chronological order. But when he fractures time by disordering events, Faulkner briefly restores us to normal perception simply by mentioning an object like Joanna's burning house. We "see" its smoke first through Lena's eyes as she rides into Jefferson, and next, sixteen pages later, after a retrospective interval covering three years, through Byron's contemporaneous view at the mill. Similarly, our position in story time is clarified more than halfway through *Light in August* when the sheriff's procession from the crime scene has to halt while Lena descends from her hospitable wagon. That wagon has seemingly just brought her into town, although eleven chapters of past and subsequent events have intervened. In Faulkner's narrative construction, whenever the time is out of joint, a previously mentioned detail resets it, in order, if not in harmony.

He also deftly uses things to symbolize either fixed or changing attitudes. When McEachern goes to pick up Joe at the orphanage, he stares at the boy as "he might have examined a horse or a second-hand plow, convinced beforehand that he would see flaws, convinced beforehand that he would buy." Joe's doom is made more certain by his being a thing to his foster father, and, ironically, a thing to Joanna Burden. Despite her many acts of tolerance, Joanna's inner view, awakened by her bitter father, was "to see [Negroes] for the first time not as people, but as a thing, a shadow in which I lived, we lived, all white people, all other people." It was a view she apparently was not to shake, since she spent the rest of her life trying to "lift that shadow." In both cases, Joe as a thing was consigned to being manipulated for someone else's purposes.

Yet things also represent change in Faulkner's work. Wrenched back to life through having to meet Lena's needs, Hightower reaches not for the Tennyson he usually escaped into, but for *Henry IV*, "food for a man." Conversely, on the down path, fleeing his pursuers, Joe puts on Negro brogans and sees himself

. . . hunted by white men at last into the black abyss which had been waiting, trying for thirty years to drown him and into which now and at last he had actually entered, bearing now upon his ankles the definite and ineradicable gauge of its upward moving.

In a way this is symbol, but given Faulkner's multilevel designing, just as the use of things to characterize is more than characterization, so this use of things to symbolize is more than representation: his objects offer a kind of dynamic projection by contributing to the ultimate shape of the novel. Wherever the story turns and turns again, there we meet poignant reminders of the same or similar details—a point I want to consider further under repetition.

Faulkner's second fictional device for shaping form combines things or events with people to direct the narrative flow. Narcissa's attraction toward both twins, and the link between their individual daring, is subtly wrought by double events in which she stands open-mouthed. The first occurs when she almost runs into John the day following his risky balloon ride; the second, after the war, when Bayard rides the rebellious horse. It is partly the memory of her, open-mouthed, that plagues Bayard's consciousness sufficiently for him to advance noticing into marriage.

The bleak self-destructive hours from twelve to three which comprise Bayard's drunk scene with MacCallum in *Sartoris* (and which suggest a more than coincidental choice in view of Faulkner's repeated crucifixion motif) are framed by contrasting school children. Still in innocence on the sidewalks, they pass home to lunch, then home for the afternoon, while inside, in the restaurant, Bayard tries to obliterate his torturing knowledge and disillusionment in one of the few palliatives he has left.

Faulkner's handling of this second device seems more obvious in *Sartoris* than later. Trace, for instance, the thing-to-people-to-thing progression during nine pages from the first mention of varicolored glass in the upstairs hall through its bringer, Virginia Du Pre, then the



high-hearted Bayard, Jeb Stuart, the coffee raid, back to the same Virginia (Aunt Jenny), to the glass again, which leads us immediately back to the second Bayard, on to the third, and to his dead wife and son. This section of the narrative moves within a frame of glass, as the other does within a frame of children. Along the way, Faulkner has said a great deal, without lining it out, about the durability of things and the transitoriness of people, yet the resurgence of life in other people. Joe Christmas dies. Lena's child is born. Both events necessarily take place with an outpouring of blood, and both contain within themselves paradoxical elements of their opposites. In violent death behind a table, Joe has begun on peace; in unworried birth on a cabin bed, Lena's son has begun on struggle. Structurally based on the common inevitabilities of life and death, future and past, this is both an open and a closed form, a form of and for truth which Faulkner has managed to present within an object-and-people-rich frame of reference.

The third device he chose (or perhaps it chose him) to supply a firm coherence involved various forebodings and extrasensory realizations. I don't mean just the presence of ghosts which were real enough to the preserving minds of the South, and therefore real to us, those ghosts who could be summoned at the flick of memory or conversation, and were. His living characters also were supernatural in their remarkable prescience at crucial moments. Without rational foreknowledge, Hines knew exactly where to find Milly in nuptial flight on the road; McEachern knew exactly where to find Joe at the dance; Byron knew exactly where to find Hightower's bedroom when Lena needed him. Perhaps even Joe's knowledge of where to search for his last possible chance at escape belongs in this supra-human foreseeing. In any case, the knowledge informed the outcome, and Faulkner had shaped his story by a curious mixture of fatality and forceful human determinism.

Another aspect of this foreboding is noticeable on rereadings of his novels (or in first readings if you're sneaky enough, as I am, to read the climaxes first). Young Bayard almost chooses the test-pilot fate that waits him. Even during his relatively calm spring-planting time, he suffered waking night terrors, "... and he thought again, if when the bullet found you, you could only crash upward, burst; anything but earth." Well, he tried. Earth claimed him in death and burial, but



he was airborne until the last second, just as he had tried to achieve that escaping flight through car speed, through horse speed, on the wings of drink—not one of them enough to do the job his sense of injury and isolation craved.

Keeping in mind this Faulknerian form by foreboding, it is interesting to examine *Light in August*, and see how often variations of the words *dead* or *death* recur in relation to Joe and Joanna. For instance, she has made prearrangements for her body. She lives in “the shadow of autumn.” She even suggests his inevitable act to Joe after he strikes her. “Maybe it would be better if we both were dead.” And she understands calmly why he has come to her room for the last time. Prescience again, plus prediction. A whole study could be made of the one idea that death, although never given dialogue, is a present and unifying character in *Light in August*.

The fourth device, which in many ways touches all the other four, is repetition of language and events, usually with change. The repetition of words and expressions sticks closer to exact duplication. We spot Hines’ identity as the former orphanage janitor, if we have missed it otherwise, by his familiar words, “Bitchery and abomination!” We grow sure of Byron’s persistent goodness by his repeated amazement that the mill on Saturday afternoon was the least likely place for hurting anyone. Conversely, we crawl at the chilling repetition of the word *superior* in Faulkner’s description of Percy Grimm’s belief:

. . . that the white race is superior to any and all other races and that the American is superior to all other white races and that the American uniform is superior to all men. . . .

We meet Joe’s “black pit” in his last impression of the Negro girl before he kicks her, in the run he takes through Freedman Town, and then we see it again through his eyes just prior to Mottstown. Because of our knowing what happens to Joe, Mrs. Hines’ account of his early babyhood care takes on solemnity and a sense of unthwartable tragedy with her almost choral refrain, “And I was that tired.”

The configuration of words is altered when Faulkner wants to depict change. Lena uses essentially the same remark at the ends of Chapters 1, 4, and 21 (although the last two are reported in turn by Byron and the furniture dealer).

1. "My, my," she says; "here I ain't been on the road but four weeks, and now I am in Jefferson already. My, my. A body does get around."
4. "My, my. Here I have come clean from Alabama, and now I am in Jefferson at last, sure enough."
21. "My, my. A body does get around. Here we aint been coming from Alabama but two months, and now it's already Tennessee."

Examined together, their construction shows not only the progression of action, but individual attitudes and hopes. Notice that when Byron reports Lena's remark, he uses the word *clean*—which sounds like an adverb, but taken as an adjective describes the way he saw her—innocent, unknown to man. And notice that the singular pronoun *I* has altered in the third one to *we*. That *we* in Lena's mind can mean herself, the baby, and Byron—a triangle of love in two letters. Above all, by the climactic placement of this last remark, Faulkner guides his deliberate shaping of the book to suggest man's doom mitigated by hope.

He doesn't always space the repetitive evidence of change so far apart. Hightower is obviously beginning to face the true divided responsibility for his failures as a minister within the community when he stumbles over the words and has to cry in two ways, "... it is not right to bother me, to worry me, when I have—when I have taught myself to stay—have been taught by them to stay—..."

Sometimes the word chosen for repetition helps to create so vivid an image that its recurrence in other sections cannot help but be noticed. This is true of the way Joe sees his path through life as a road or street which he runs or walks both literally and figuratively in different ways for fifteen years. The re-cited image provides the continuity which lets us keep track of the character and the form, even though events are scrambled.

But words as unique expressions of any character's private vision play only a minor part in Faulkner's building through repetition. The form of *Light in August* depends largely on the occurrence of similar events, sometimes parallel in different characters, sometimes varied in their development.

Like Lena, Joe starts his exploration into adulthood by slipping out a window. Like Lena, except that he travels from murderous death and she toward unsanctioned life, he wills a vehicle to stop, and then

rides in a mood of innocent detached interest which excludes any awareness of past or future trouble. What is doubly impressive is that Faulkner's parallel structuring of action and reaction in two characters reaches out and molds our sympathy and regret: Lena's and Joe's innocent behavior is in rending contrast to the "evil" which society will say they have committed and for which they'll be condemned. Faulkner is so complexly skillful a writer that his forming powers do not confine themselves to the printed page.

Lena is not Joe's only kindred character. Through his own experience, he comes to share with Hightower a vision of women, good or bad, as making men suffer, and a loner's disregard of mechanical time. It is true that Hightower transcends the tyranny of days and hours through his fixation on the past and years of withdrawal from living, while Joe loses the same "orderliness" of time through flight and hunger. But Faulkner is making artistically sure that the cause and condition of one character's behavior will throw distinction on another's. He forces us to say, "Yes, they are alike, but—" and search out the points where the seeming parallels begin to diverge.

Both Lena and Joanna appear, to Byron and Joe respectively, split "in two parts." Byron tells Hightower that Lena is both realistic yet trustful toward Lucas; Joe sees Joanna as masculine and feminine, prim and prurient, seemingly devotionless, then religious. Is it only lurid detail, or is it also another Faulknerian symbolic fate attuned to character that Joanna is literally divided head from body in death?

Faulkner can twist his use of repetition to be horrifying, as here, or unbearably poignant. On three critical occasions—first, when Joe is carried by stealth in his grandfather's arms at five, second, when he steals from the cabin after exposing himself, and sleeps in the stable (an approximation of the scene of McEachern's whippings), and third, when he flees in Negro footwear toward Mottstown—he goes with shoes unlaced. It's another simple detail, a link in events which creates a tightly enclosed form, and raises the emotional impact of each succeeding scene to piteous heights.

Clearly, Faulkner was writing from a Freudian theory of suppressed childhood events influencing future behavior, when he developed *Light in August*. The evidence is mountainous: every repetition of dead-of-night activity for Joe, which was momentous for him just as dusk was contemplative for Hightower; the significant waiting



for punishment, making no attempt to escape, from the dietitian, from Joanna, from Mottstown; the pants-down exposure to relieving punishment from McEachern in the stable which is duplicated in Joe's seeking stable-mortifying discomfort after exposure beside the road; the intolerable knee-bent associations with prayer, so that prayer triggers Joanna's killing; her insistence on giving him food which he insists on taking, just as he would not, could not, accept food or money willingly from the dietitian, from Mrs. McEachern, or Joanna. In fact, he threw the Negro-cooked food in the dark at Burden's, just as he had thrown his foster mother's timid, loving offering after punishment, just as, surrounded by feminine clothes, he had thrown up toothpaste in the first traumatic incident. He recognized consciously his own association of women with the need for concealment, hiding his illicit business on the Burden place although:

Very likely she would not have objected. But neither would Mrs McEachern have objected to the hidden rope; perhaps he did not tell her for the same reason that he did not tell Mrs McEachern. Thinking of Mrs McEachern and the rope, and of the waitress whom he had never told where the money came from which he gave to her, and now of his present mistress and the whiskey, he could almost believe that it was not to make money that he sold the whiskey but because he was doomed to conceal always something from the women who surrounded him.

Sometimes, instead of erecting a series of events on the platform of previous ones, Faulkner makes one event serve almost simultaneous reactions. We see this worked out slowly, in gradual narrative revelations, through episodes like the murder, the burning house, Joe's capture—to all of which the community reacts. But we also see reactions to one event worked out rapidly when the birth of Lena's son restores Hightower and Bunch to contact with reality, while it restores Bunch reluctantly to the open railroad.

Any close reading of any Faulkner work reveals that repetition, in a myriad of forms, is one of his chief structural devices.

Even his fifth device is a variation of repetition. I should like to call it reminiscence, the term to cover all the reminders of the past—traditional southern, theological, mythic, primitive. Faulkner goes back and back in time to give both his story and his people depths beyond contemporary dimensions. Later works, like *Go Down, Moses*, use primitive elements even more pervasively, but they al-



ready show in *Light in August*. When the townspeople from Jefferson come out to gawk at the crime, “. . . they looked at the fire, with that same dull and static amaze which they had brought down from the old fetid caves where knowing began, as though, like death, they had never seen fire before.”

The one aspect of form thorough reminiscence I'd like to explore here is the Christian analogy by which Joe moves and has his narrative being. It's not just that his initials are J. C., that he is an innocent forced to condemnation by a society which kills him at the age of thirty-three. Or that Mrs. McEachern washes his feet as a child, and that he accepts flagellation, musing “like a hermit, contemplative and remote with ecstasy and self-crucifixion.” Or that Max noticeably uses “Jesus!” or “Christ!” every time he talks to or about Joe. Or that he associates the stable with celibacy, with freedom from women, and that he is surprisingly able to sleep refreshed there, and that he goes from there to the whiskey cache and pours the contents on the earth in a form of purifying communion.

The communion detail alone is interesting. Follow the many inclusions of food or blood throughout the novel, and they take on an enormously instrumental power. Right after McEachern makes Joe kneel in prayer, with the Bible already a symbol of brutality in the name of righteousness, Joe sees his foster-father's hand in the lamp-light “as if it had been dipped in blood.” Women and blood and filth become tragically linked for him through his adolescent companions' and Bobbie's remarks. Food becomes a ceremonial form of emphasizing his supposed “Negroidness,” both in the way and place it is served at Joanna's, and its content—“field peas cooked in molasses,” for instance. When he prepares himself to surrender, blood again lends a significant touch to his cleansing, because he cuts himself while shaving. The ideas of black blood and white blood war within him, figure in Byron's explanation of his death; blood flows from Hightower and wells from Christmas in a rush which Faulkner transmutes into ascension: “. . . upon that black blast the man seemed to rise soaring into their memories forever and ever.” Hightower at one point has said about him, “Poor man. Poor mankind.” With these juxtaposed words, Faulkner has shaped the Christ-like relationship he wants us to see, that Joe is not only Jefferson's but our own moral kin, that in his death we kill ourselves, and yet live on with a

means which could save us if we could keep that sacrifice in mind.

If there were any lingering doubt about Faulkner's use of remembered Christian forms, his insistent repetition of the number three, like the Trinity, like the *Eli, Eli, Eli*, like the hours Christ hung on the Cross, would dispel that doubt. It's three o'clock in the morning when the Negro rides in from church with news of Joe's profaning attack. Joe sleeps an "hour, perhaps three" on the wagon before turning himself in to Mottstown crowds which are reminiscent of Jerusalem. No train is due for three hours when the Hineses want to go to Jefferson, and it is again three A.M. when they arrive. Three hours pass from the dance confrontation and felling of McEachern to the time when Joe comes to pick up Bobbie. On the third day, the dietitian comes out of her coma state; on the third day, the matron sends for the dietitian; on the third day, the policeman comes for Joe and Hines at the other orphanage. The food for McEachern's trip was prepared three days before. Three days pass from Lena's Jefferson arrival until her move into the cabin. Three months after Joanna begins praying, in the dark Joe hears the courthouse clock striking ten, then eleven, then twelve (as we know from another passage). These are the identical three hours, only by day, which surrounded McEachern's brutal teaching attempts. The lesson was learned too thoroughly. When midnight passed, Joe rose and tried by murder to kill his hatred.

Nor is this the end of the arrangement by threes. The day her murder is discovered, it seems to be the townspeople who pass judgment on Joanna's body "that had died three years ago and had just now begun to live again. . . ." The three years, of course, refer to the length of her three-phased association with Joe. It's also three years since Byron has lived with the new linoleum, being "the first of the boarders to mount upon it." The contrast would be ridiculous, if it weren't possible to take that object as a symbol of Bryon's previously sterile existence. Joe at least had a human, if faulty companion during those three years.

Time is not the only form in which the three repeats itself. The Hineses cannot afford the cost of a taxi to Jefferson, three dollars, the same price Lena cannot pay for tourist cabins. Byron and the Hineses, petitioning Hightower, seem in his view ". . . three rocks above a beach . . .," and in the same interview, Mrs. Hines gets stuck on

three words, "It's because I—" and can hardly get beyond. On three crucial occasions during the story, Joe is stretched in a semiconscious state, waiting suspended—once at Bobbie's, once in the woods before giving up, and once at the death scene. It would not be reading unjustified significance into these three preresurrection episodes if we look at Joe's seeking for violence to expiate his sense of sin in the light of something Edward Dahlberg wrote about Sancho Panza, quoted by Sir Herbert Read in an introduction to Dahlberg's *Can These Bones Live?*: ". . . we . . . must always be ready to go out to receive the holy communion of cudgels and distaffs, for the rebirth of the Pulse."

The Christian analogy is unmistakably there for Joe. Its reminiscence persists even in the last earthy humorous chapter. Who else are continuing into life but another simple family group consisting of another Mary, another Joseph, and a child who is not his own?

Reminiscence, repetition, psychic awareness, things and events combined with people, common objects—Faulkner manipulates all of these for the armature around which to sculpture the work of his fiction. It is a tribute to his artistry that while the means of his form can be studied, the fullest form of his meaning and the measure of his narrative effect cannot be so taken.

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# Library Notes

## ROSENWALD GIFT

Last spring the University Libraries received a generous gift from the Lessing J. and Edith Rosenwald Foundation for the purchase of rare books. The present brief report covers the major additions made up to the beginning of the current year:

*Manuscripts:* In spite of the steady rise of prices for medieval and Renaissance text manuscripts, a few items were acquired advantageously, among them a hitherto unknown chartulary of the Spanish monastery of Montaragon (ca. 1250), the business correspondence of Piero Chiarini (Spalato, Venice, Florence, etc., 1390-99), and a previously unidentified and presumably unknown oration to Emperor Maximilian II (Prague, 1570).

Our Lea Library contains an excellent collection of statutes, strongest for Italian cities and towns. Two manuscripts were added, the statutes of the cathedral town of Toul (France, fifteenth century) and those of the town of Ripa (near Rome), covering the years 1463-1609 (Rome, 1743), an earlier transcript than the one in the Senate Library in Rome.

*Sixteenth-Century Imprints:* Professor M. A. Shaaber is currently compiling a catalogue of the libraries' sixteenth-century holdings, of which there are apparently more than ten thousand. Although the collection covers a variety of fields, there is nevertheless a distinct concentration on certain areas.

One such area is composed of Aristotle editions and commentaries. We were able to add an edition of Aristotle's *De mundo* with commentary by the French humanist Guillaume Budé (Paris, 1537), the *De coelo et mundo* (Lyons, 1542), and V. Q. Patina's commentary on the *De anima* (Bologna, 1575).

Much of the Historical Source Material of the period has not been used by scholars and is potentially of considerable interest. Additions here include one item on the Turkish threat (N. Papadopulo, *Epistola a Sultan Selin* [Venice, 1572?], written in connection with the battle of Lepanto), several Reformation items (Thomas Illyricus, *In Lutheranas hereses* [Turin, 1524]; *Reymundus Offenbarung*, an apparently



unknown prophecy, full of bitter criticism of the clergy, printed ca. 1520–25; H. Conradinus, *Lacrymae Davidis* [Wittenberg, 1560], including a poem upon the death of Melanchthon). Related to these is an item by the reformer Urbanus Rhegius against servitude, written during the Peasant War of 1525, and published in the same year in Augsburg, and especially a collection of eleven anti-Reformation tracts by Hieronymus Dingersheim, with interesting woodcuts, published in Leipzig in 1531 and 1532.

*Literature:* It is quite typical for this period that one and the same item frequently concerns more than one field, as for example Francesco Mondella's *Isifle tragedia* (Verona, 1582) which is a literary work, inspired by the Turkish attack on Cyprus. A few other items, added primarily for their literary interest, also serve added purposes, like the rare French translation of Marsilio Ficino's commentary on Plato's *Symposium* (Poitiers, 1546), a Latin rendering of the same *Symposium* together with Xenophon's *Banquet* in a book which deals with Greek religion (*De conviviorum veterum Graecorum ritibus* [Basel, 1548]), or the French translation of J. L. Vives' *Dialogues* (Paris, 1576), a very rare item by the great Spanish humanist.

*Neo-Latin Literature:* It was further strengthened by the addition of fifteen texts, printed between 1521 and 1631, including an imitation of Virgil (Gameren, *Bucolica latina* [Ingolstadt, 1565]) and a collection of poems by F. Nuñez de Oria (*Lyrae heroycae* [Salamanca, 1581]) addressed to Philip II, king of Spain and "Indiarum regem."

*Miscellaneous:* We were able to add only one item to the University's already outstanding collection of Spanish literature of the Golden Age, *Villancicos, que se cantaron en la Sant Iglesia de la seo de Caragoza* (1662). For the growing collection of original early Baroque music Praetorius' *Cautiones sacrae* (Hamburg, 1599) was acquired. The earliest play of Shakespeare to be translated into Italian, *Julius Caesar* (Siena, 1756), was purchased for the Furness Library. Important in the history of education is a collection of twelve items by Petrus Valens which gives insight into the workings of the University of Paris in the early part of the seventeenth century (issued Paris, 1601–33) and which belonged to Colbert, in a binding with his coat of arms. We did not entirely neglect the modern times; here we acquired Lionel Feininger's *Ja!*, a revolutionary manifesto issued by the artists of Berlin in 1919.

RUDOLF HIRSCH

*It is difficult to obtain a hippopotamus except through the kind favor of the Viceroy of Egypt.*

—P. T. Barnum to Charles Hale, 1866

Mrs. Elsa Noble has presented a remarkable collection of seventy-two autograph letters largely written to members of the family of Edward Everett Hale. Hans Christian Andersen, P. T. Barnum, James Buchanan, Samuel L. Clemens, Richard Henry Dana, William Dean Howells, Theodore Roosevelt, and Daniel Webster are among the authors of these extraordinary letters.

*Walt Whitman, an American, one of the roughs, a kosmos.*

Mr. Henry R. Pemberton, an alumnus of the University and former Business and Financial Vice President, has given to the library a superb copy of the first edition of Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* (Brooklyn, 1855), a most welcome addition to our Whitman Collection.

*He can outjump any frog in Calaveras county.*

The Friends of the Library have made possible the purchase of a first edition, first issue of *The Jumping Frog of Calaveras County* (New York, 1867), Mark Twain's first book, to be added to our fine Twain Collection.

NEDA M. WESTLAKE

#### UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES: COCHRAN PAPERS

The University Archives, the vast but little-known depository of the records and memorabilia of all divisions of the University, its faculty, and alumni, has been the recent recipient of the papers of two notable members of the University Faculty.

A major acquisition, formally accepted by the University Trustees but recorded anonymously during the lifetime of the donor, was the huge collection of papers of a former key member of the faculty and administration. To this donation, the R. Tait McKenzie Papers, heretofore the largest collection relating to an individual in the Archives, now takes second place.

The other "gift of the year," representing a small but important part of the donor's files, is that of the papers of Thomas Childs Cochran, distinguished American economic historian and Benjamin Franklin Professor of United States History in the University. The

Cochran Papers came to the Archives in the summer of 1972 when Dr. Cochran retired from the faculty he first joined in 1950.

The Cochran Papers are in three parts. The first includes Professor Cochran's general correspondence from 1942 to 1950 as a member of the history department at New York University, his undergraduate alma mater, and from 1950 to 1966, during the greater part of his career at Pennsylvania. The second and most significant division of the collection consists of correspondence relating to the more than twenty regional, national, and international learned societies and organizations with which the historian was affiliated between 1942 and 1969.

Papers dealing with Thomas Cochran's teaching and writing form the third segment of his gift to the Archives. Lecture notes and syllabi from courses taught in his two universities (the earliest date from 1927, three years before he received his Ph.D. from Pennsylvania), papers of associates and students, correspondence with co-editors and with his publishers (Harper, Crowell, Knopf, McGraw-Hill, and Scribner are represented) are all here, together with articles and speeches by Dr. Cochran, clippings and reviews of his work, and a file of reviews written by him. Some pleasant memorabilia are included, a Valentine from his wife, Ro Cochran, to whom nearly every correspondent sent greetings, and the certificate of membership in the American Philosophical Society, one of Cochran's many honors.

The quality of Tom Cochran's writing and teaching, his breadth of knowledge and quiet humanity, earned for him the executive position in the National Bureau of Economic Research, the Committee on Research in Economic History, the Economic History Association, and in the Organization of American Historians. Cochran served as editor of the *Journal of Economic History* and as a member of council of the American Historical Association. A picture of the growth of these organizations, synonymous with Professor Cochran's own professional development, and of the interplay of the individuals who directed their destinies, emerges from the Cochran Papers.

Thomas Cochran's own view of business as an organic and fundamental institution of American civilization, and his concern with the changing role of entrepreneurship in the Americas, shaped the course



of his writing. The sharing of these historical theories and interests determined the pattern of the historian's movements—where he was and with whom—as it did the pattern of his correspondence. Tom Cochran directed the Commercial Relations Attitudes Project at the University of Puerto Rico in the fifties and held the Pitt Professorship at Cambridge University in the sixties.

Not surprisingly, his correspondents included Howard K. Beale, Daniel J. Boorstin, Rudolf A. Clemen, Arthur H. Cole, George W. Corner, Merle Curti, Oscar Handlin, Fred Harvey Harrington, R. Sturgis Ingersoll, Walter Johnson, Emmett J. Leahy, Allan Nevins, Roy F. Nichols, M. M. Postan, Richard H. Shryock, and William Miller, coeditor with Cochran of *The Age of Enterprise*. As the correspondence is a general one, letters to and from his peers are intermingled with notes of warm encouragement sent by the brilliant teacher of history to young colleagues and students. Cochran's golf partners also have their day in the sun.

The archival profession in the United States owes much to Professor Tom Cochran, who has been involved in its development for more than three decades. Realizing the importance of business records for his own work (the fact that the Pabst archives survived made possible his 1948 history of the brewing company), Cochran contributed his professional expertise and reputation as a scholar to the cause of archival preservation. His surveys and recommendations for such enterprises as the Thomas Alva Edison Foundation, Ford, and Remington Rand, and for innumerable railroads and historical societies, called attention to the enormous importance of business archives as source material for American history.

Always on call by the National Archives, by the Baker Library of the Harvard Business School, and by the National Records Management Council, which he served as president and chairman, Thomas Childs Cochran has, with the encouragement of Rudolf Hirsch, appropriately committed the first part of his papers to be separated from his own custody to the rapidly growing Archives of his own university.

FRANCIS JAMES DALLETT



VARIOUS GIFTS

DR. WILLIAM W. BRICKMAN—The Lea Library has received an especially notable gift from Dr. Brickman, Professor of Education, University of Pennsylvania. It is a volume containing sixty-four legal dissertations presented at the University of Leyden in 1596 and 1597, and published at Leyden in those years. There are copious contemporary or near-contemporary manuscript notations.

MR. SOL FEINSTONE—The Sol Feinstone Collection of the American Revolution; guide and 3 reels of film.

DR. AND MRS. LOUIS GROSSMAN—Collection of works on philosophy.

MRS. ROBERT HENREY—Copies of her books.

MR. AND MRS. DAVID KANES—Miscellaneous collection of volumes on music and socialism formerly belonging to Mr. Edward Wannemacher.

MRS. JOHN DONALD KINGSLEY—Collection of material on Africa from the collection of John Donald Kingsley.

DR. AND MRS. SIDNEY KRASNOFF—*The Art of Robert M. Krasnoff*.

MISS ANNA MAHLER—The manuscript of Franz Werfel's novel *Höret die Stimme*.

LORD LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN—Presentation copy of Henry Vincent Hodson's *The Great Divide*.

MRS. RICHARD SHYROCK—Collection of volumes on the history of medicine and related medical subjects.

DR. ROBERT C. SMITH—1,408 books and pamphlets on the history and literature of Portugal and Brazil, and other assorted material.

MR. PAUL FRANCIS WEBSTER—*The Small, Select Library of Paul Francis Webster: Six Hundred Years of Significant Literature, 1299–1899*.

DR. STEPHEN T. WHELAN—Violet-Le-Duc's *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*. 10 vols.

We gratefully acknowledge donations from the following trustees, faculty, and staff members: Brian H. Aveney, E. Sculley Bradley, William W. Brickman, Gerald Briggs, Lynn M. Case, Thomas C. Cochran, Hennig Cohen, Robert Dechert, Richard De Gennaro, Claude K. Deischer, Henry Faul, André von Gronicka, William L. Hanaway, Jr., Theodore Hornberger, R. Sturgis Ingersoll, Adolf D. Klarmann, Robert A. Kraft, G. Malcolm Laws, Jr., Vincent E. McHale, Vincas Maciunas, Stanley Manwaring, Heinz Moenkemeyer, Otakar Odlozilik, Jeannette P. Nichols, Norman D. Palmer, Arnold G. Reichenberger, Delphine O. Richardson, Lyman W. Riley, Shifra Rin, Svi Rin, Charles E. Rosenberg, Richard F. Schwartz, Bernard G. Segal, Benjamin S. P. Shen, John L. Shover, Arnold W. Thackray, Henry Wells.

JEAN M. GREEN

In addition to the many gifts and deposits from within the University during the past year, the University Archives gratefully acknowledges the donation of manuscripts, photographs, books, and memorabilia relating to University history from Mrs. George William McClelland, Dr. Leonidas Dodson, Dr. A. Donald Thorp, Mrs. E. Florens Rivinus, Miss Nora B. Thompson, Mrs. Vincent Gilpin, Mr. Francis James Dallett, Mr. John Rider Wallis, Dr. Pierson D. Jessup, Mr. Warren W. Yenney, Mr. Watson Kintner, Dr. Robert C. Smith, Miss Gertrude Traubel, the College of Physicians and Surgeons (Mrs. Lisabeth M. Holloway), and the University of Delaware Library.

Papers of individuals deposited earlier but not previously accessioned, and now added to the Archives, include collections of Edward Goodfellow, A.B. 1848, A.M. 1851; Henry Reed Hatfield, n.g. Class of 1878; Senator George Wharton Pepper, A.B. 1887, LL.B. 1889, LL.D. 1907, Trustee; Major Joseph George Rosengarten, A.B. 1852, A.M. 1855, LL.D. 1907, Trustee; and Thomas Mackie Smith, A.B. 1828, A.M. 1831, M.D. 1831. The papers of Dr. Smith were presented by the late Mr. A. Felix du Pont, Class of 1901.

FJD













